

The Student World

UT OMNES URUM SINT

Organe de la
Fédération Universelle des Associations Chrétiennes d'Étudiants
Zeitschrift des christlichen Studentenweltbundes
Organ of the World's Student Christian Federation

January, 1928

THE STUDENT WORLD

Serial Number 81

Contents for January, 1928

		Page
Mere Students in China	<i>T. M. Haslett</i>	3
Towards Co-operation in the Pacific	<i>Merle Davis</i>	12
Migration	<i>K. H. Bailey</i>	25
Japan Faces East	<i>Anonymous</i>	30
Americans Look Westward	<i>Norman F. Coleman</i>	40
The New American	<i>Kensuke Kawachi</i>	48
China and the West	<i>C. C. Wu</i>	52
Creating a Chinese Student Christian Movement	<i>T. L. Shen</i>	59
A Christian Mission to Buddhists	<i>Nolto Norman Thelle</i>	66
Australia and the Pacific	<i>H. Duncan Hall</i>	71
South America's Pacific Problem	<i>John Mackay</i>	78
Book Reviews		82
Notes on Contributors		86

The Student World is published in January, April, July and October. The price of a single annual subscription, postpaid, is 3/6d; 2 marks; 2.50 Swiss francs; or \$1.00, gold. Subscriptions may be sent to any of the addresses given below:

Australia: "The Student World," 111, 113, 115, 117, 119, 121, 123, 125, 127, 129, 131, 133, 135, 137, 139, 141, 143, 145, 147, 149, 151, 153, 155, 157, 159, 161, 163, 165, 167, 169, 171, 173, 175, 177, 179, 181, 183, 185, 187, 189, 191, 193, 195, 197, 199, 201, 203, 205, 207, 209, 211, 213, 215, 217, 219, 221, 223, 225, 227, 229, 231, 233, 235, 237, 239, 241, 243, 245, 247, 249, 251, 253, 255, 257, 259, 261, 263, 265, 267, 269, 271, 273, 275, 277, 279, 281, 283, 285, 287, 289, 291, 293, 295, 297, 299, 301, 303, 305, 307, 309, 311, 313, 315, 317, 319, 321, 323, 325, 327, 329, 331, 333, 335, 337, 339, 341, 343, 345, 347, 349, 351, 353, 355, 357, 359, 361, 363, 365, 367, 369, 371, 373, 375, 377, 379, 381, 383, 385, 387, 389, 391, 393, 395, 397, 399, 401, 403, 405, 407, 409, 411, 413, 415, 417, 419, 421, 423, 425, 427, 429, 431, 433, 435, 437, 439, 441, 443, 445, 447, 449, 451, 453, 455, 457, 459, 461, 463, 465, 467, 469, 471, 473, 475, 477, 479, 481, 483, 485, 487, 489, 491, 493, 495, 497, 499, 501, 503, 505, 507, 509, 511, 513, 515, 517, 519, 521, 523, 525, 527, 529, 531, 533, 535, 537, 539, 541, 543, 545, 547, 549, 551, 553, 555, 557, 559, 561, 563, 565, 567, 569, 571, 573, 575, 577, 579, 581, 583, 585, 587, 589, 591, 593, 595, 597, 599, 601, 603, 605, 607, 609, 611, 613, 615, 617, 619, 621, 623, 625, 627, 629, 631, 633, 635, 637, 639, 641, 643, 645, 647, 649, 651, 653, 655, 657, 659, 661, 663, 665, 667, 669, 671, 673, 675, 677, 679, 681, 683, 685, 687, 689, 691, 693, 695, 697, 699, 701, 703, 705, 707, 709, 711, 713, 715, 717, 719, 721, 723, 725, 727, 729, 731, 733, 735, 737, 739, 741, 743, 745, 747, 749, 751, 753, 755, 757, 759, 761, 763, 765, 767, 769, 771, 773, 775, 777, 779, 781, 783, 785, 787, 789, 791, 793, 795, 797, 799, 801, 803, 805, 807, 809, 811, 813, 815, 817, 819, 821, 823, 825, 827, 829, 831, 833, 835, 837, 839, 841, 843, 845, 847, 849, 851, 853, 855, 857, 859, 861, 863, 865, 867, 869, 871, 873, 875, 877, 879, 881, 883, 885, 887, 889, 891, 893, 895, 897, 899, 901, 903, 905, 907, 909, 911, 913, 915, 917, 919, 921, 923, 925, 927, 929, 931, 933, 935, 937, 939, 941, 943, 945, 947, 949, 951, 953, 955, 957, 959, 961, 963, 965, 967, 969, 971, 973, 975, 977, 979, 981, 983, 985, 987, 989, 991, 993, 995, 997, 999, 1001, 1003, 1005, 1007, 1009, 1011, 1013, 1015, 1017, 1019, 1021, 1023, 1025, 1027, 1029, 1031, 1033, 1035, 1037, 1039, 1041, 1043, 1045, 1047, 1049, 1051, 1053, 1055, 1057, 1059, 1061, 1063, 1065, 1067, 1069, 1071, 1073, 1075, 1077, 1079, 1081, 1083, 1085, 1087, 1089, 1091, 1093, 1095, 1097, 1099, 1101, 1103, 1105, 1107, 1109, 1111, 1113, 1115, 1117, 1119, 1121, 1123, 1125, 1127, 1129, 1131, 1133, 1135, 1137, 1139, 1141, 1143, 1145, 1147, 1149, 1151, 1153, 1155, 1157, 1159, 1161, 1163, 1165, 1167, 1169, 1171, 1173, 1175, 1177, 1179, 1181, 1183, 1185, 1187, 1189, 1191, 1193, 1195, 1197, 1199, 1201, 1203, 1205, 1207, 1209, 1211, 1213, 1215, 1217, 1219, 1221, 1223, 1225, 1227, 1229, 1231, 1233, 1235, 1237, 1239, 1241, 1243, 1245, 1247, 1249, 1251, 1253, 1255, 1257, 1259, 1261, 1263, 1265, 1267, 1269, 1271, 1273, 1275, 1277, 1279, 1281, 1283, 1285, 1287, 1289, 1291, 1293, 1295, 1297, 1299, 1301, 1303, 1305, 1307, 1309, 1311, 1313, 1315, 1317, 1319, 1321, 1323, 1325, 1327, 1329, 1331, 1333, 1335, 1337, 1339, 1341, 1343, 1345, 1347, 1349, 1351, 1353, 1355, 1357, 1359, 1361, 1363, 1365, 1367, 1369, 1371, 1373, 1375, 1377, 1379, 1381, 1383, 1385, 1387, 1389, 1391, 1393, 1395, 1397, 1399, 1401, 1403, 1405, 1407, 1409, 1411, 1413, 1415, 1417, 1419, 1421, 1423, 1425, 1427, 1429, 1431, 1433, 1435, 1437, 1439, 1441, 1443, 1445, 1447, 1449, 1451, 1453, 1455, 1457, 1459, 1461, 1463, 1465, 1467, 1469, 1471, 1473, 1475, 1477, 1479, 1481, 1483, 1485, 1487, 1489, 1491, 1493, 1495, 1497, 1499, 1501, 1503, 1505, 1507, 1509, 1511, 1513, 1515, 1517, 1519, 1521, 1523, 1525, 1527, 1529, 1531, 1533, 1535, 1537, 1539, 1541, 1543, 1545, 1547, 1549, 1551, 1553, 1555, 1557, 1559, 1561, 1563, 1565, 1567, 1569, 1571, 1573, 1575, 1577, 1579, 1581, 1583, 1585, 1587, 1589, 1591, 1593, 1595, 1597, 1599, 1601, 1603, 1605, 1607, 1609, 1611, 1613, 1615, 1617, 1619, 1621, 1623, 1625, 1627, 1629, 1631, 1633, 1635, 1637, 1639, 1641, 1643, 1645, 1647, 1649, 1651, 1653, 1655, 1657, 1659, 1661, 1663, 1665, 1667, 1669, 1671, 1673, 1675, 1677, 1679, 1681, 1683, 1685, 1687, 1689, 1691, 1693, 1695, 1697, 1699, 1701, 1703, 1705, 1707, 1709, 1711, 1713, 1715, 1717, 1719, 1721, 1723, 1725, 1727, 1729, 1731, 1733, 1735, 1737, 1739, 1741, 1743, 1745, 1747, 1749, 1751, 1753, 1755, 1757, 1759, 1761, 1763, 1765, 1767, 1769, 1771, 1773, 1775, 1777, 1779, 1781, 1783, 1785, 1787, 1789, 1791, 1793, 1795, 1797, 1799, 1801, 1803, 1805, 1807, 1809, 1811, 1813, 1815, 1817, 1819, 1821, 1823, 1825, 1827, 1829, 1831, 1833, 1835, 1837, 1839, 1841, 1843, 1845, 1847, 1849, 1851, 1853, 1855, 1857, 1859, 1861, 1863, 1865, 1867, 1869, 1871, 1873, 1875, 1877, 1879, 1881, 1883, 1885, 1887, 1889, 1891, 1893, 1895, 1897, 1899, 1901, 1903, 1905, 1907, 1909, 1911, 1913, 1915, 1917, 1919, 1921, 1923, 1925, 1927, 1929, 1931, 1933, 1935, 1937, 1939, 1941, 1943, 1945, 1947, 1949, 1951, 1953, 1955, 1957, 1959, 1961, 1963, 1965, 1967, 1969, 1971, 1973, 1975, 1977, 1979, 1981, 1983, 1985, 1987, 1989, 1991, 1993, 1995, 1997, 1999, 2001, 2003, 2005, 2007, 2009, 2011, 2013, 2015, 2017, 2019, 2021, 2023, 2025, 2027, 2029, 2031, 2033, 2035, 2037, 2039, 2041, 2043, 2045, 2047, 2049, 2051, 2053, 2055, 2057, 2059, 2061, 2063, 2065, 2067, 2069, 2071, 2073, 2075, 2077, 2079, 2081, 2083, 2085, 2087, 2089, 2091, 2093, 2095, 2097, 2099, 2101, 2103, 2105, 2107, 2109, 2111, 2113, 2115, 2117, 2119, 2121, 2123, 2125, 2127, 2129, 2131, 2133, 2135, 2137, 2139, 2141, 2143, 2145, 2147, 2149, 2151, 2153, 2155, 2157, 2159, 2161, 2163, 2165, 2167, 2169, 2171, 2173, 2175, 2177, 2179, 2181, 2183, 2185, 2187, 2189, 2191, 2193, 2195, 2197, 2199, 2201, 2203, 2205, 2207, 2209, 2211, 2213, 2215, 2217, 2219, 2221, 2223, 2225, 2227, 2229, 2231, 2233, 2235, 2237, 2239, 2241, 2243, 2245, 2247, 2249, 2251, 2253, 2255, 2257, 2259, 2261, 2263, 2265, 2267, 2269, 2271, 2273, 2275, 2277, 2279, 2281, 2283, 2285, 2287, 2289, 2291, 2293, 2295, 2297, 2299, 2301, 2303, 2305, 2307, 2309, 2311, 2313, 2315, 2317, 2319, 2321, 2323, 2325, 2327, 2329, 2331, 2333, 2335, 2337, 2339, 2341, 2343, 2345, 2347, 2349, 2351, 2353, 2355, 2357, 2359, 2361, 2363, 2365, 2367, 2369, 2371, 2373, 2375, 2377, 2379, 2381, 2383, 2385, 2387, 2389, 2391, 2393, 2395, 2397, 2399, 2401, 2403, 2405, 2407, 2409, 2411, 2413, 2415, 2417, 2419, 2421, 2423, 2425, 2427, 2429, 2431, 2433, 2435, 2437, 2439, 2441, 2443, 2445, 2447, 2449, 2451, 2453, 2455, 2457, 2459, 2461, 2463, 2465, 2467, 2469, 2471, 2473, 2475, 2477, 2479, 2481, 2483, 2485, 2487, 2489, 2491, 2493, 2495, 2497, 2499, 2501, 2503, 2505, 2507, 2509, 2511, 2513, 2515, 2517, 2519, 2521, 2523, 2525, 2527, 2529, 2531, 2533, 2535, 2537, 2539, 2541, 2543, 2545, 2547, 2549, 2551, 2553, 2555, 2557, 2559, 2561, 2563, 2565, 2567, 2569, 2571, 2573, 2575, 2577, 2579, 2581, 2583, 2585, 2587, 2589, 2591, 2593, 2595, 2597, 2599, 2601, 2603, 2605, 2607, 2609, 2611, 2613, 2615, 2617, 2619, 2621, 2623, 2625, 2627, 2629, 2631, 2633, 2635, 2637, 2639, 2641, 2643, 2645, 2647, 2649, 2651, 2653, 2655, 2657, 2659, 2661, 2663, 2665, 2667, 2669, 2671, 2673, 2675, 2677, 2679, 2681, 2683, 2685, 2687, 2689, 2691, 2693, 2695, 2697, 2699, 2701, 2703, 2705, 2707, 2709, 2711, 2713, 2715, 2717, 2719, 2721, 2723, 2725, 2727, 2729, 2731, 2733, 2735, 2737, 2739, 2741, 2743, 2745, 2747, 2749, 2751, 2753, 2755, 2757, 2759, 2761, 2763, 2765, 2767, 2769, 2771, 2773, 2775, 2777, 2779, 2781, 2783, 2785, 2787, 2789, 2791, 2793, 2795, 2797, 2799, 2801, 2803, 2805, 2807, 2809, 2811, 2813, 2815, 2817, 2819, 2821, 2823, 2825, 2827, 2829, 2831, 2833, 2835, 2837, 2839, 2841, 2843, 2845, 2847, 2849, 2851, 2853, 2855, 2857, 2859, 2861, 2863, 2865, 2867, 2869, 2871, 2873, 2875, 2877, 2879, 2881, 2883, 2885, 2887, 2889, 2891, 2893, 2895, 2897, 2899, 2901, 2903, 2905, 2907, 2909, 2911, 2913, 2915, 2917, 2919, 2921, 2923, 2925, 2927, 2929, 2931, 2933, 2935, 2937, 2939, 2941, 2943, 2945, 2947, 2949, 2951, 2953, 2955, 2957, 2959, 2961, 2963, 2965, 2967, 2969, 2971, 2973, 2975, 2977, 2979, 2981, 2983, 2985, 2987, 2989, 2991, 2993, 2995, 2997, 2999, 3001, 3003, 3005, 3007, 3009, 3011, 3013, 3015, 3017, 3019, 3021, 3023, 3025, 3027, 3029, 3031, 3033, 3035, 3037, 3039, 3041, 3043, 3045, 3047, 3049, 3051, 3053, 3055, 3057, 3059, 3061, 3063, 3065, 3067, 3069, 3071, 3073, 3075, 3077, 3079, 3081, 3083, 3085, 3087, 3089, 3091, 3093, 3095, 3097, 3099, 3101, 3103, 3105, 3107, 3109, 3111, 3113, 3115, 3117, 3119, 3121, 3123, 3125, 3127, 3129, 3131, 3133, 3135, 3137, 3139, 3141, 3143, 3145, 3147, 3149, 3151, 3153, 3155, 3157, 3159, 3161, 3163, 3165, 3167, 3169, 3171, 3173, 3175, 3177, 3179, 3181, 3183, 3185, 3187, 3189, 3191, 3193, 3195, 3197, 3199, 3201, 3203, 3205, 3207, 3209, 3211, 3213, 3215, 3217, 3219, 3221, 3223, 3225, 3227, 3229, 3231, 3233, 3235, 3237, 3239, 3241, 3243, 3245, 3247, 3249, 3251, 3253, 3255, 3257, 3259, 3261, 3263, 3265, 3267, 3269, 3271, 3273, 3275, 3277, 3279, 3281, 3283, 3285, 3287, 3289, 3291, 3293, 3295, 3297, 3299, 3301, 3303, 3305, 3307, 3309, 3311, 3313, 3315, 3317, 3319, 3321, 3323, 3325, 3327, 3329, 3331, 3333, 3335, 3337, 3339, 3341, 3343, 3345, 3347, 3349, 3351, 3353, 3355, 3357, 3359, 3361, 3363, 3365, 3367, 3369, 3371, 3373, 3375, 3377, 3379, 3381, 3383, 3385, 3387, 3389, 3391, 3393, 3395, 3397, 3399, 3401, 3403, 3405, 3407, 3409, 3411, 3413, 3415, 3417, 3419, 3421, 3423, 3425, 3427, 3429, 3431, 3433, 3435, 3437, 3439, 3441, 3443, 3445, 3447, 3449, 3451, 3453, 3455, 3457, 3459, 3461, 3463, 3465, 3467, 3469, 3471, 3473, 3475, 3477, 3479, 3481, 3483, 3485, 3487, 3489, 3491, 3493, 3495, 3497, 3499, 3501, 3503, 3505, 3507, 3509, 3511, 3513, 3515, 3517, 3519, 3521, 3523, 3525, 3527, 3529, 3531, 3533, 3535, 3537, 3539, 3541, 3543, 3545, 3547, 3549, 3551, 3553, 3555, 3557, 3559, 3561, 3563, 3565, 3567, 3569, 3571, 3573, 3575, 3577, 3579, 3581, 3583, 3585, 3587, 3589, 3591, 3593, 3595, 3597, 3599, 3601, 3603, 3605, 3607, 3609, 3611, 3613, 3615, 3617, 3619, 3621, 3623, 3625, 3627, 3629, 3631, 3633, 3635, 3637, 3639, 3641, 3643, 3645, 3647, 3649, 3651, 3653, 3655, 3657, 3659, 3661, 3663, 3665, 3667, 3669, 3671, 3673, 3675, 3677, 3679, 3681, 3683, 3685, 3687, 3689, 3691, 3693, 3695, 3697, 3699, 3701, 3703, 3705, 3707, 3709, 3711, 3713, 3715, 3717, 3719, 3721, 3723, 3725, 3727, 3729, 3731, 3733, 3735, 3737, 3739, 3741, 3743, 3745, 3747, 3749, 3751, 3753, 3755, 3757, 3759, 3761, 3763, 3765, 3767, 3769, 3771, 3773, 3775, 3777, 3779, 3781, 3783, 3785, 3787, 3789, 3791, 3793, 3795, 3797, 3799, 3801, 3803, 3805, 3807, 3809, 3811, 3813, 3815, 3817, 3819, 3821, 3823, 3825, 3827, 3829, 3831, 3833, 3835, 3837, 3839, 3841, 3843, 3845, 3847, 3849, 3851, 3853, 3855, 3857, 3859, 3861, 3863, 3865, 3867, 3869, 3871, 3873, 3875, 3877, 3879, 3881, 3883, 3885, 3887, 3889, 3891, 3893, 3895, 3897, 3899, 3901, 3903, 3905, 3907, 3909, 3911, 3913, 3915, 3917, 3919, 3921, 3923, 3925, 3927, 3929, 3931, 3933, 3935, 3937, 3939, 3941, 3943, 3945, 3947, 3949, 3951, 3953, 3955, 3957, 3959, 3961, 3963, 3965, 3967, 3969, 3971, 3973, 3975, 3977, 3979, 3981, 3983, 3985, 3987, 3989, 3991, 3993, 3995, 3997, 3999, 4001, 4003, 4005, 4007, 4009, 4011, 4013, 4015, 4017, 4019, 4021, 4023, 4025, 4027, 4029, 4031, 4033, 4035, 4037, 4039, 4041, 4043, 4045, 4047, 4049, 4051, 4053, 4055, 4057, 4059, 4061, 4063, 4065, 4067, 4069, 4071, 4073, 4075, 4077, 4079, 4081, 4083, 4085, 4087, 4089, 4091, 4093, 4095, 4097, 4099, 4101, 4103, 4105, 4107, 4109, 4111, 4

THE STUDENT WORLD

Serial Number 81

Contents for April, 1928

	Page
The Heritage of India.	P. Chenchia 91
India in 1928.	K.T. Paul 105
The Womanhood of India.	Mrs Margaret Cousins 122
India — A Land of Villages.	Mason Olcott 130
Social Service in India.	V. Venkatasubbaiah 139
The Church of Christ in India.	The Rev. N. Macnical 146
India Moving towards Christ.	A.J. Appasamy 158
Are Christian Missions still needed in India?	B.L. Rallia Ram 164
Are Christian Missions still needed in India?	J.S.B. Abraham 171
Movements of Student Life and Thought in India	
(A) Among men students :	R.F. Maccune 175
(B) Among women students :	Miss L. Devasaatyam 182
The Student Christian Movement in India — past, present and future.	Rev. E.C. Dewick 185
Some Indian Confessions of Faith.	
(A) Why I am a Hindu.	Mahatma Gandhi 194
(B) Why I have not changed my religion.	D.B. Ellepola 198
(C) Why I am a Christian.	C.E. Abraham 202
India and the Federation.	
(A) What the Federation hopes to receive from India.	H.L. Henriod 206
(B) What India hopes to receive from the Federation.	A.M.K. Cumaraswamy 214
Book Reviews.	222
List of Books.	236
Notes on Contributors.	239

The Student World is published in January, April, July and October. The price of a single annual subscription, postpaid, is 3/6d; 3.50 marks; 4 — Swiss francs; or \$1.00. Subscriptions may be sent to any of the addresses given below :

Australia : E. V. Newman, Esq., 182 Collins Street, Melbourne.
 Canada : V.
 France :
 Germany :
 Great Britain : Student Movement Book Room, 32 Russell Square, London W.C.1.
 Holland : Bureau N.C.S.V., Hardenbroek 1, Driebergen.
 India : Mrs. Hahlabaksh, 111A, Ashutosh Mukerji Road, P.O. Elgin Road, Calcutta.
 New Zealand : Walter Nash, Esq., P.O. Box 310, Wellington.
 South Africa : W.S. Conradie, Esq., P.O. Box 25, Stellenbosch, Cape Province.
 U.S.A. : World's Student Christian Federation, Student Y.M.C.A., 347 Madison Avenue, New York City.

or to the general office of the World's Student Christian Federation, 13, Rue Calvin Geneva, Switzerland (Cheque Postal No. 13192).

The names of the various national and international Student Movements affiliated to the Federation and also the addresses to which correspondence should be sent are printed on the third page of this cover.

The Student World

UT OMNES UNUM SINT

Organe de la
Fédération Universelle des Associations Chrétiennes d'Étudiants
Zeitschrift des christlichen Studentenweltbundes
Organ of the World's Student Christian Federation

April, 1928

THE STUDENT WORLD

Serial Number 81

Contents for July, 1928

	Page
Editorial	241
Why Jesus Christ Commands My Allegiance	<i>W B Selbie</i> 243
The Truth of Orthodoxy	<i>N Berdiaeff</i> 249
Christ in the Catholic Church	<i>M D Petre</i> 264
The New Reformation	<i>J N Monzo</i> 269
Das Christentum und die Moderne Gesellschaft	<i>Paul Tillich</i> 282
Jesus as a Radical	<i>R Niebuhr</i> 293
Der Innere Mensch	<i>Karl Barth</i> 298
The Inward Man (Translation)	<i>Karl Barth</i> 309
Am I a Christian?	<i>Mahatma Gandhi</i> 316
La Priere	<i>S de Dietrich</i> 324
What the Quaker Spirit has Meant for Germany	<i>Emil Fuchs</i> 330
The Christu Kula Ashram	<i>E Forrester Paton</i> 335
Book Reviews	341
Notes on Contributors	351

The Student World is published in January April July and October The price of a single annual subscription postpaid is 3 6d 3 50 marks 4 — Swiss francs or \$1 00 Subscriptions may be sent to any of the addresses given below

Australia	I V New lan, Esq 182 C H s Street Melbourne
Canada	Murray Brooks Esq 76 Avenue Royal Toronto
France	Jed 171 quai de la Seine Paris 14
Germany	Herlitzstrasse 10 Berlin NW 87
Great Britain	Student Movement Book Room 32 Russell Square London WC1
Holland	Bureau NCSV 4 Hardebroek Dreierge
India	Mrs Mahibaksh 12A Ashutosh Mukherjee Road 10 Flt n Road Calcutta
New Zealand	Walter Nash Esq 10 Box 310 Wellington
South Africa	W S Conradie Esq P O Box 25 Stellenbosch Cape Province
U.S.A.	World's Student Christian Federation Student YMCA 317 Madison Avenue New York City

or to the general office of the World's Student Christian Federation, 13 Rue Calvin Geneva Switzerland (Cheque Postal No 13192)

The names of the various national and international Student Movements affiliated to the Federation and also the addresses to which correspondence should be sent are printed on the third page of this cover

The Student World

UT OMNES UNUM SINT

Organe de la
Fédération Universelle des Associations Chrétiennes d'Étudiants
Zeitschrift des christlichen Studentenweltbundes
Organ of the World's Student Christian Federation

July, 1928



THE NEW HEADQUARTERS OF THE FEDERATION

13, Rue Calvin, Geneva.

THE STUDENT WORLD

A quarterly magazine published at 13, Rue Calvin, Geneva,
by the World's Student Christian Federation

J. R. MOTT, *Chairman*

HENRY-LOUIS HENRIOD,
General Secretary

FRANCIS P. MILLER,
Administrative Secretary, Editor.

MISS C. QUIN, *Associate Editor.*

VOLUME XXII

January 1928

NUMBER 1

"The lands of the Pacific present to-day the greatest combination of grave and urgent problems and issues -- economic, social, national, international, inter-racial, and religious. These problems cannot be solved in one generation, but it is clear that the oncoming generation -- the generation now thronging the universities, colleges, and higher schools -- as possibly no other, will be called upon to deal with them. It is highly important that in all our institutions of higher learning, particularly in countries around the Pacific or in those which sustain close relations with the Pacific, there be organised study circles and open forums for the consideration of these living questions."

John R. Mott,

Waikanae, New Zealand, May 1925.

"The contacts... are less between nations than between civilisations or between different levels of humanity which are out of adjustment. The problems are racial and social rather than political, and our standard method of looking at them from a diplomatic or military angle has proved both restrictive and misleading."

Professor André Siegfried (France)
in "America Comes of Age".

"It is little use attempting to arbitrate between angry nations, any more than between angry men; but it is possible, in times of goodwill, to devise legal forms which develop the social habit of peaceful and reasonable settlement. The great foes of peace are

ignorance and fear, and they are the foes also of everything that students stand for and desire in every country."

Professor J. B. Condliffe (New Zealand)
in "The Third Mediterranean in History."

As most readers of the "Student World" are aware, it had been planned to hold, under the auspices of the World's Student Christian Federation, a Pacific Area Conference for students. This Conference, which was to have taken place in Peking in August, 1927, had unfortunately to be abandoned owing to the unsettled state of the country. Much interest had been aroused in the project in many of the countries round the Pacific, and several of the National Movements of the Federation have expressed a strong desire that it should not be entirely dropped, and that arrangements should be made to hold the Conference at some time in the not too distant future. It therefore now seems probable that it will take place in the spring of 1930. The present number of the "Student World" deals with the problems and subjects which would have been discussed at the Conference. Besides presenting a list of members of the Federation, and other societies, and a list of the countries in which the work is being done, in some of the countries concerned, it is hoped that it may help to arouse a wider interest in this most important question and serve in some sort as a foundation for future endeavours to find a solution.

Note. — For financial reasons, and after consultation with those responsible in the various National Movements, it has been decided to raise the price of the "Student World" in English-speaking countries. In view of the increased size of this journal, it is hoped that the students of the English-speaking countries will be able to afford this change. The price from January 1, 1930, will be 1/6 (one shilling and sixpence) where the British currency system is in use, and one dollar where American currency is in use.

Die Studenten Chinas sind ebenso an der Arbeiterfrage interessiert. Viele von ihnen versuchen das Problem zu lösen, die Lebensbedingungen für Kulis und Bauern auf ein höheres Niveau zu bringen und die Fürsorge unter den Armen zu beleben. So hat z.B. die Christliche Studentinnenvereinigung der Ginling Universität eine Volksschule erbaut, die 1,500.—\$ kostete und stellt unbezahlte Lehrer hierfür. Sie haben ausserdem 700.—\$ aufgebracht, um eine Badeanstalt für arme Frauen zu bauen. Die Knaben einer Schulkasse in Nanking sammelten Geld für ein Obdach für Jinrikasha Kulis. Die Studenten der Hangchow Universität richteten Volksschulen und Arbeiterklassen in den benachbarten Dörfern ein. In fast allen Gebieten haben die Studenten heute wachsenden Einfluss. "Bewusste Teilnahme des Volkes an dem politischen Geschehen, die es früher in China nicht gab, ist immer mehr im Wachsen begriffen, und die Studentenbewegung ist ein Faktor, der von der Regierung nicht übersehen werden kann," so urteilt ein Fremder, der die jetzigen Verhältnisse in China gut kennt.

Auch auf anderen Gebieten haben die Studenten Antwort auf unsere Frage gegeben. In diesen Zeiten der Umwälzung sind Kräfte im Werk, die die Moral und Religion vernichten wollen, diese gehen hauptsächlich von einer kleinen Gruppe gestützten Hochstehenden aus, die bewiesen haben, dass die Religion mit Aberglauben behaftet und unwissenschaftlich sei. Das Land aber braucht gerade Fortschritt in richtiger Beziehung und Bewegung, während Religionen zum Konservativismus neigen, während die Bewegung hauptsächlich auf Wissenschaft und Fortschritt beruht. Und auch hier ist Kampf gegen diese Unwissenheit. Eine solche Kraft ist klein, aber eine geschickliche Gruppe christlicher Studenten. Konkrete Maßnahmen, die sie haben in ihrem Kampf durchgeführt, können hier nur kurz angedeutet werden. Die christlichen Studenten in Nanking. Während der Unruhen im letzten Mai haben sie in ihrer persönlichen Gefahr den Feinden umherlaufen sich zu retten. Als man ihre Tatenkenntnis wollte und die Zensurkommission der Universität untersagte, verlegten sie den Ausgangspunkt ihrer Arbeit nach dem Ginling College. Dort setzten sie als einzige die christlichen Gottesdienste fort. Obgleich sie an Zahl verloren haben, ist ihre Kraft gewachsen. Die Anti-christliche Bewegung hat gewissermaßen den Glauben dieser Gruppe nur stärken können. Der Kampf gegen die christliche Lehre ging hauptsächlich von intellektuellen und politischen Kreisen aus. Man behauptete, dass durch sie chinesische Kultur verloren ginge und dass es eines Studenten der Wissenschaft unwürdig sei, sich mit ihr zu befassen. Antwort hierauf war die Bildung von Gruppen, die sich als Ziel setzen, die aktuellen religiösen Gedanken zu studieren mit besonderem Hinblick auf christliche Grundmotive im Verhältnis zu Philosophie, Volkswirtschaft und Religion. Sehr lebhaft beschäftigte die Studenten die Frage: "Ist es möglich für Nachfolger Jesu politisch doch ein treuer Bürger Chinas zu sein?" Eine Gruppe von Studenten hat kürzlich diese Frage dadurch beantwortet, dass sie die Grundmotive der Christlichen Studentenbewegung folgendermassen proklamierten: (1) Wir wollen an der Umgestaltung in christlichem Geist mitarbeiten. (2) Religion ist das einzige Genesungsmittel für das Volk. (3) Wir wollen mit dem Volk leben und seine Lebensbedingungen im Geiste Jesu bessern. Auch die Zukunft der christlichen Kirche in China ist viel besprochen worden. Die Studenten haben ihre ganz bestimmten Ansichten hierüber. Mit ihrem jugendlichen Temperament sind sie

allerdings oft nicht ganz gerecht in ihrem Urteil. Aber zu einer solchen Zeit der Neugestaltung ist es doch ein hoffnungsvolles Zeichen, wenn die Studenten ihre Gedanken auf die Frage der zukünftigen Gestaltung der christlichen Kirche lenken. Eine Bewegung voller Unzufriedenheit mit der bisherigen Form und mit flammendem Idealismus eifrigst nach besserer Gestaltung suchend, gibt zu grossen Hoffnungen Anlass. Der starke Eindruck, den Jesu Leben auf sie gemacht hat und der die Veranlassung gab zu einer so leidenschaftlichen Kritik gegen die bisherige Organisation der Kirche, wird aus ihnen starke und furchtlose Führer des heutigen China machen.

Weil wir glaubten, dass *gerade Studenten* viel dazu beitragen können, ein besseres Verstehen unter den Völkern um den Stillen Ozean anzubahnen, hatten wir den Plan gefasst, eine Gruppe christlicher Studenten dieser Länder im letzten Sommer in Peking zusammen zu rufen. Keine Bewegung hat an den Vorbereitungen dazu so regen Anteil genommen als gerade die chinesische und niemand war so sehr enttäuscht wie sie, als die allgemeine politische Lage uns zwang, die Konferenz hinauszuschieben.

Wenn die Studenten wirklich weiter ihren Einfluss auf die öffentliche Meinung ihres Landes ausüben, ist es von ungeheurer Wichtigkeit, dass sie stark und klar in ihrer religiösen Einstellung sind, und dass diese auf der Lehre Christi beruht. Es sind Zeiten der Umwandlung und der Weltbund steht hier vor einem weiten, offenen Arbeitsfeld.

Könnten wir diesen erwachenden chinesischen Studenten besser helfen als dazu, dass sie dem Leben nachfolgen, aus dem neue Freiheit, Verinnerlichung und Kraft denen zuströmt, die es nachleben wollen?)

"In these days when only armies and navies count in international influence, what can mere students hope to do?"

This question was put to me in the first case by a Korean student, who had been turning over in his mind the pros and cons of a Pacific Area Student Conference. It was often repeated in varied form in other countries of the Orient, when the same project was before the minds of the student world. I do not remember however, having heard that question once asked in China. The tendency here, in some quarters at least, has rather been to seek for some means by which the mere student could be induced to take a less active part in his country's affairs. His fervent interest in politics has not always been for his country's best welfare, nor for his own progress as a student. It must never be forgotten however that in a spirit of reckless and disinterested devotion, he has performed many difficult and dangerous tasks in his love for his country and his people. One might pause here to reflect why it is that whenever the modern student has taken a prominent part in political activities, it has been practically always in the Nationalist cause. Dr. Sun Yat Sen first realised what might be done for the cause of the Revolu-

tion with the aid of a resolute body of students. The group which was mainly responsible for the overthrow of the Manchus and the proclaiming of the Republic was composed chiefly of students educated abroad. It is claimed of this group that it destroyed in ten years an autocracy that had stood unshaken for more than two thousand years. From that time forward, the students of China have taken an active hand in shaping the affairs of their land, both domestic and foreign. It was they who developed the use of the "big gun" weapon, which has been a formidable power in China's hands. She has used it as a substitute for armed force in her struggle for equality of treatment in the parliament of nations. The manner in which China's interests were ignored at the Versailles Peace Conference so aroused the students, that they led a movement which forced the Peking Government to withhold its signature from the Treaty.

Violence not Encouraged.

Here it is worthy of record that in all his demonstrations, whether against corruption from within, or oppression from without, the student has not resorted to force of arms. He has trusted to the power of propaganda to undermine and shame the offender. In spite of many bitter experiences to the contrary, it must be agreed that a remarkable restraint has been exercised in the matter of violence against foreigners. Had the country been really excited to extreme violence, the results must have been terrible indeed. The actual loss of life among foreigners, grave as it is, has been incredibly small when one considers the wide-spread disorders attendant on the Revolution; the appalling loss of life among the Chinese themselves; and the general anti-foreign feeling which has been aroused in many parts.

Chinese students are awake to the folly of militarism, whether in their own country or among Western nations. Their campaign against Foreign Imperialism in China is coupled to-day with an equally spirited attack upon Chinese militarism, from which their whole country has suffered so cruelly.

A Turning Against Communism.

To the average foreigner in China, the student appears as the leader and instigator of much of the unrest which now possesses the land. The view of the most enlightened Nationalists agrees with this, but holds that the students have played a valiant part in an inevitable stage of revolution and renaissance. On the other

hand, the student seems to be among the first of the reformers to realise that China's real revolution cannot come about by agitation alone. While they have not wavered in their loyalty to the Nationalist cause, there seems to be a general agreement that communism can bring no good to the country, and a definite turning against its doctrines and programme. Whereas a year ago, students were leaving college in considerable numbers to enter the military Academy, or to enlist immediately in the fighting army; to-day they are more inclined to stay by their studies. Flag-waving and processions with students in the lead are not nearly so frequent as they were. The doctrine "Down with Imperialism, Foreignism, Capitalism, Militarism, Communism" finds a more constructive rival in a "Love the School" Movement. Its purpose is to restore regular study; to dispel the radical non-studying element; to work for the nationalist cause through study of social problems, and through practical service during the vacations. The zeal with which students have participated as instructors in the Mass Education Movement and Health Campaigns, is evidence of their ability and energy in this kind of reconstruction. One vivid illustration will suffice to show the practical value of such cooperation. Carrying megaphones, and samples of wood sawn into two lengths, suitable for either firewood or coffins, students to the number of several hundred assisted in a campaign against cholera. Through the villages they proclaimed their message:

"If you don't use fire-wood you may have to use coffin wood. Boil your water and cook your food. Eat it hot from clean dishes. Fire-wood is cheap. Coffin-wood is dear. Join the fight against cholera. Kill the germs by firewood. Firewood or coffin-wood! You take your choice!" In one week during the campaign 300,000 pieces of illustrated literature were distributed. This was supplemented by lectures and house-to-house visitation.

Students and Social Service.

Students in China have also been prominent in the initial stages of labour organisation. There are numbers of students, past and present, who give much time and thought to the problem of raising the standard of living for the coolie and the peasant. In addition they work and give generously for social welfare efforts among the poor. The student Y. W. C. A. of Ginling College has built and helps to provide voluntary teachers for a primary school which cost them over fifteen hundred gold

dollars to erect. They also raised seven hundred dollars to build a bath-house for poor women. The boys of one class in a Nanking school raised the money to build a shelter for rickisha coolies. Hangchow College students run popular schools in neighbouring villages and classes for labourers on the college estate.

In most of the records of the trend of affairs in China to-day appear references to the growing power of the Student Movement. Whatever be the judgment as to its merits, the fact of its influence is generally accepted. The growth of national consciousness is largely due to the widespread campaign of exhortation carried on by students. "Public opinion in China, which was formerly non-existent, or inarticulate" says one foreign administrator of wide Chinese experience "is now a growing and powerful influence, and the Student Movement, much as it has been criticised, is a factor which no Government can afford to ignore."

The Part Played by the Christian Student.

In other spheres than those of politics and social service, students of China have given an answer to the question: "What can mere students do?" During these days of general disturbance throughout the land renewed attacks have been made upon the moral and religious strongholds of the nation. On one hand a small group of intellectuals has been endeavouring to show that all religion is unscientific and rooted in superstition, and that while the country needs intellectual progress, and unity, religion is emphasising conservatism and division. On the other hand the attack is more direct and less subtle. It originates from the headquarters of the extreme radicals, and has for its objective the overthrow of all agencies making for normal peace and order. It is often carried out by ignorant and misguided mobs. In this campaign of destruction, Christians have in some provinces been specially selected for attack. They have been subject to persecution and have often endured personal loss and bodily suffering. There have been students on both sides of the conflict. Too often the deeds of the destroyers are narrated, while those of the steadfast and courageous Christian groups pass unnoticed. Yet in the forefront of the battle against both ignorant violence and cultured materialism, are found a small but staunch group of Christian students.

In face of physical persecution too often the student as well as his less equipped neighbour went down before the storm of criticism and threats. It called for a courage and faith possessed

by few Western Christians to stand upright before that storm. Yet the Student Christian Movement has not been felled. Here and there one finds the trees standing in staunch little groups. Some branches are broken, and some are missing, but the trees are there still erect and firm, catching again in their upraised arms the sunshine of a new day. The Student Christian group at Nanking for example, has been heroic in its resistance. During the disorders of March last, at great personal risk, they helped foreigners to escape from the city. Later they were prevented by a hostile group from holding their usual meetings in the University, and were forbidden with many ugly threats to continue their activities. In spite of this they immediately found a new centre in Ginling College close by, and carried on as usual. Their courage won the day, and eventually threats of persecution and other forms of hostility ceased. They then continued without a break to hold the only surviving Christian service of worship in Nanking. This proved a great source of strength to Christians generally and above all to the Student Christian Movement itself. The Movement has now a strong fellowship, reduced in numbers from formerly, but widely respected in the University. It is more definite in its purpose to emphasise spiritual values, and to urge upon its members Jesus' claims for the whole of life.

The Challenge to Christianity.

The effect of the Anti-Christian Movement, which was started by students, has been likewise to stimulate the Christian groups. They have undertaken a searching examination into their own spiritual resources and aims, and into the actual products of Christianity. The attack on the Christian faith has been chiefly on intellectual and political grounds. It is said that it is unworthy of the student of Science, and that it is a foreign imposition, destroying both Chinese culture and character as such. The reply to this has been the formation of groups to study contemporary religious thought and to disseminate widely a careful statement of Christian principles, in terms of present-day thought. There are numerous problems that face the student : economic, philosophic and religious. As students and Christians, they believe they ought to be able to give a lead on these problems, and a better lead than Buddhism. It has been said with too much truth that the Chinese Christians of to-day are being led

astray, when they themselves ought to be in the place of the leaders.

Another very pertinent question concerns the relationship between religion and politics. It has been put in this form : "Are we in following Jesus politically unfitting ourselves to be China's best citizens?" A representative group of students has recently answered this question by declaring the objectives of a Student Christian Movement to be : (1) To work for the Revolution in a Christian spirit (2) To emphasise spiritual life as the only real way of salvation for the country (3) To go among the people in the spirit of Jesus seeking to improve their conditions of living.

The thinking of Chinese Christian Students on questions of this radical nature shows how practical they are in their conception of a living religion.

The Student and the Church.

The future of the Christian Church in China is much discussed to-day. The student has some quite definite views on this subject. With the zest of youth he is sometimes more fervent than just in his judgment of values. He overlooks much of the heroic and patient work done in the name of the various churches in days gone by. But in the new atmosphere of national consciousness, it is the student above all who resents any action or attitude that implies foreign domination. Too often he sees what to him speaks of aggressive foreign influence at the cost of what is best in his own national traditions. His criticism of the churches is that they are a foreign imposition ; they are controlled by conservative middle-age and offer no fellowship for youth burning with idealism. He protests against a religion which so often seems to him to give chief place to money, position, statistics, buildings and sectarian strife. At a time when reconstruction is being demanded on all sides, it is a hopeful sign that student thought is also being given to the question of China's future Christian Church. There is great promise in a Movement where such discontent is combined with intelligent study and fervent idealism. The intense soul which "Jesus' way of living" has upon these fiery critics of organised Christianity, will, under God, make of them strong and fearless leaders in China's new day. It is to such that both Church and State have a right to look for their leadership.

Students of the Pacific Area to Meet.

Believing that "mere students" could do much to create a better understanding among the countries of the Pacific, and believing that they could do even more as crusaders for individual Christian living, the plan was devised to bring a Pacific Area Christian group together at Peking last summer. No Movement worked harder than the Chinese to bring this conference about, and no one was more disappointed than they when the generally disturbed state of the Orient made postponement necessary. It is some compensation to know that this project will again be resumed at the earliest possible moment.

If the students of this great country of China are to continue to exercise their influence upon the public opinion of their land, it is of vital importance that they should be clear and strong in their religious and moral convictions; and that those convictions be founded above all upon the principles of Jesus Christ. Once again the time is one of transition, and once again we find ourselves as a Federation standing before an open door.

Is there anything more we can do to help this great company of rising students to lay hold on the Life which means a new freedom, a new vision, and a new power to follow where it leads?

Towards Cooperation in the Pacific

By MERLE DAVIS.

(In den Ländern des Grossen und Stillen Ozeans versucht man eine Annäherung der verschiedenen Völker und Rassen in sozialen, wirtschaftlichen, religiösen und politischen Fragen anzubahnen. Eine Organisation "das Institut zur Förderung der Beziehungen zwischen den Völkern des Grossen und Stillen Ozeans" will diese Aufgabe lösen.

In einer Zone, in der noch vor 100 Jahren kaum irgendwelche Verbindung unter den einzelnen Völkern bestand, sind jetzt die akuten Tagesfragen zu lösen, die der vorwärtstürmende Zug des Weltgeschehens auch in diese entfernten Zonen getragen hat. Die Verbindung untereinander ist jetzt so eng, dass z.B. auf wirtschaftlichem Gebiet ein Börsensturz in New York seine furchtbaren Auswirkung in die entferntesten Täler Japans bis zu den dort wohnenden Seidenbauern ausdehnen kann.

Aber auch wissenschaftliche und geistige Faktoren, so schnell in ihrer Ausdehnung und oft so zerstörend und revolutionär in ihrer Wirkung auf Gesellschaft und Volkswirtschaft, sind wirksam unter den Völkern des pazifischen Ozeans geworden.

Die moderne Wissenschaft mit ihrem Dienst dem Laboratorium, das sich die Naturkräfte dienstbar macht, greift zuwachen den Glauben und die Anschauungen der Völker an, aber durch ihre Theorien wächst ein neues Weltverstehen und eine gemeinsame Sprache, die schon die Leiter der grossen Nationen zusammengeführt hat.

Die Missionen haben den nichtchristlichen Völkern der pazifischen Zone westliche Kultur und Ideale vermittelt, die zwar fremd und unvereinbar mit denen des Ostens waren und doch ein gewisses internationales Verstehen und einen gemeinsamen Boden in ethischer und sozialer Beziehung gaben.

Durch politische, wirtschaftliche und soziale Maxime des Westens und ihre oft zerstörende Wirkung auf die sozialen Grundlagen der östlichen Völker hat sich bei diesen ein starkes Gefühl für Selbstbestimmung entwickelt, wie es sich ja auch in der demokratischen Regierungsform vieler Völker um den Grossen und Stillen Ozean ausdrückt.

Neben diesen Faktoren, die eine gemeinsame Basis nicht nur unter den Völkern des Ostens sondern über die ganze Welt geschaffen haben, sind Kräfte am Werk, die den Prozess des internationalen Verstehens verlangsamen, wenn nicht gar ernstlich gefährden. Untermischung von Völkern verschieden stark entwickelter wirtschaftlicher Verhältnisse mit daraus sich ergebenden verschiedenen Lebensbedingungen haben Schwierigkeiten besonderer Art mit sich gebracht. Versuche diese zu lösen sind durch Einwanderergesetze gemacht worden.

Eine Verständigung unter den pazifischen Völkern wird ungeheuer erschwert durch das Problem der Rasse und Farbe. Dieses wird hervorgerufen einestheils durch die starken Vorurteile der Weissen, durchweg anglo-sächsischer Abkunft, gegenüber den Farbigen, andererseits durch einen starken Rassestolz der Farbigen, der aus dem Bewusstsein altererbter Kultur geboren ist.

Bei ihrem Eindringen in Asien haben die Weissen zwei ungeheure Fehler begangen, einmal dadurch, dass sie absolut von ihrer Ueberlegenheit den Völkern des Orients gegenüber überzeugt waren, dann aber auch dadurch, dass sie die Einführung ihrer Kultur und Religion nicht getrennt haben von der ihrer militaristischen und politischen Programme und ihrer Ausbeutebestrebungen.

Inzwischen kam der Weltkrieg und die Völker Asiens sahen, dass Zivilisation und Religion der westlichen Mächte nicht imstande waren, diese schrecklichste aller menschlichen Katastrophen zu vermeiden. So sahen sie sich auf sich selbst und ihre eigenen Kraftquellen angewiesen.

Die Einwanderungsklausel des Amerikanischen Congresses im Sommer 1924, mit der Ausschluss Japans zeigte in starkem Masse die Hilflosigkeit der Regierungen bei der Regelung internationaler Dinge.

Angesichts einer solchen Lage ungeheurer Komplikationen und Schwierigkeiten aber auch grösster Möglichkeiten erwachte im Juli 1925 der Gedanke zur Gründung des "Institutes zur Förderung der Beziehungen zwischen den Völkern des Grossen und Stillen Ozeans." Die Anregungen hierzu waren verschiedenster Art und gingen zu einem grossen Teil von einer Gruppe beruflich tätiger Persönlichkeiten und Kaufleuten in Hawai aus, die den christlichen Glauben ihrem Leben zu Grunde gelegt hatten und die Lehre Christi praktisch durchführen wollten mit besonderer Einfassung des Rasseproblems. In kleinen Stützpunkten auf den Inseln wurde durch sie schon ein Versuch gemacht worden, freundschaftliche Beziehungen zu einer Gemeinschaft von verschiedenster Rassen und Kulturen anzuknüpfen. Was ist an Kernen nützlich war, was nicht sollte das nach der grösseren Stützpunkten weitergeführt werden?

Einen weiteren grundlegenden Einfluss haben die Untersuchungen der Beziehungen der Rassen zueinander, die aus der nordamerikanischen Karte von J. H. St. John, dem amerikanischen Orientalen und Weissen von Canada in Mexiko gemacht wurden, gehabt. Ein besonderes Komitee war zu diesem Zweck gewählt und ein umfassender Bericht, der die Untersuchungsergebnisse verarbeitete, war eines bemerkenswerten Fortschritts in der Verständigung über diese Völkergruppe. Die Gründer des Institutes glaubten, angeregt durch die erfolgreichen Ergebnisse dieser Untersuchungen, das hierbei angewandte technische Untersuchungsverfahren und die zu Grunde liegende objektive Einstellung sich selbst bei ihrem Vorgehen zur Richtschnur machen zu sollen. Ungehört viel verdankt das Institut auch den Leuten der "Williamstown Institutes for Pacific", deren Mitarbeiter grosszügig ihre freie Zeit und ihren Rat in der Zeit des Aufbaus und der ersten Entwicklung zur Verfügung gestellt haben.

Die erste Konferenz des Institutes wurde vom 1.-15. Juli 1925 abgehalten; 111 Personen aus acht verschiedenen Ländern — Australien, Canada, China, Japan, Korea, Neu-Seeland, den Philippinen und Vereinigten Staaten — nahmen an ihr teil. Führer der öffentlichen Meinung, Gelehrte aus den verschiedensten Ländern kamen hier zusammen, um sich kennen zu lernen, ihre Ansichten über die verschiedensten Probleme des pazifischen Gebietes auszutauschen und ein gemeinsames grosses Arbeitsprogramm, dass sich mit Fragen der Ein- und Auswanderung, Erziehung, Religion, Wirtschaft und den gegenwärtigen Problemen Chinas befasste, aufzustellen. Eine permanente Arbeit mit einer zentralen Geschäftsstelle in Honolulu und Arbeitszweigen in den verschiedenen Ländern um den Grossen und Stillen Ozean wurde beschlossen. Eine

Uebereinstimmung bei der Lösung der wesentlichsten Probleme wurde erzielt und die Anberaumung einer 2. Konferenz im Sommer 1927 beschlossen. Bei dieser sollten die oben aufgeführten Probleme der 1. Konferenz unter Anwendung der inzwischen erzielten Forschungsergebnisse wieder behandelt werden.

[illegible][illegible]

... an Organisationen in Russland, Mexiko, ...
... ergangen, deren Teilnahme aber aus verschiedenen Gründen nicht möglich war, ebenso waren die den Stillen Ozean angrenzenden Südamerikanischen Staaten nicht vertreten.

Die 2. Konferenz wies gegenüber der ersten einen bedeutenden Fortschritt auf. Prominente Persönlichkeiten auf den durch die Diskussion berührten Gebieten gaben einen wesentlichen Beitrag zur Lösung der gestellten Fragen; es handelte sich um Fragen wie Bevölkerung und Nahrungsbeschaffung, Exportimportpolitik, Importzölle, Geldrechnung, Monopole etc. China nahm an sämtlichen vier Punkten teil und unterstützte die amerikanische Position. Als Ergebnis der Konferenz haben die Teilnehmer eine Vereinbarung über die Beschreibung einer Reihe schwerer Fragen geschlossen. Diese Punkte sind folgende: Die Einwanderungsfriede und die Frage des Handels mit Opium. Besonders bemerkenswerte Resultate wurden erzielt dem Gebiet der Zollfragen und der Grenzrevision bezügl. der Meile in China sowie bei Behandlung der internationalen Beziehungen in Bezug auf Bevölkerung und Lebensbedingungen erzielt. China war natürlich bei den ersten zwei Punkten das Hauptgeheimnis. Durch die Teilnahme englischer, amerikanischer und chinesischer Vertreter an den Runden-Tisch-Diskussionen wurden wichtige

Economic Interdependence in the Pacific.

In examining the movement, one is struck with the modern nature of the forces that have converged to produce it. From this angle the Institute is an attempt to answer for the Pacific area the acute problems that the onward sweep of world life is precipitating upon the more remote parts of the world. One hundred years ago there was no community of peoples in the Pacific. Except for a thin trickle of trade from Boston to the lower China coast, carried on by sailing ships, East and West lived their lives almost as isolated from each other as though situated upon different planets. To-day these once remote sections of the earth are bound together by a web of communications growing yearly in volume and in speed of operation and which for better or for worse are introducing their peoples to a common world life. Shanghai and London are better posted as to what is transpiring in their respective countries to-day than adjoining counties of England were a century ago.

Moreover, there has been brought about a degree of economic interdependence of these countries so delicate that a serious fall in the New York Stock Exchange brings gloom to thousands of the rural silk producers in remote Japanese valleys. The opening of a new cotton mill in Ningpo may throw out of work a corresponding number of Lancashire operatives, while this in turn directly reduces the demand for British imports from New Zealand and causes depression in the primary industries of that Pacific outpost of the Empire. Here we see the completion of the cycle of economic interdependence which in this case begins and ends in the Pacific.

But there are scientific and spiritual forces as rapid in their movement and as disruptive and revolutionary in their effect upon human society as the economic which have been precipitated upon the new community of the Pacific by the present world order.

The Common Language of Science.

Modern Science with its hand-maid the Laboratory is bringing a readjustment of society to the forces of nature which are for the first time profoundly affecting the beliefs and practices of half the human race. However, the formulas and theorems of the exact sciences and the inexorable working of their laws form a new medium of world understanding and a common

language which has already drawn the leaders of the great peoples very close to one another.

Foreign missions for a century have been interpreting to the non-Christian peoples of the Pacific Area the highest idealism, religious concepts and social activities that have been developed in the West — ideals, concepts and practices in large part alien to and often irreconcilable with the indigenous institutions, beliefs and practices of the older civilizations of the East, yet resulting in a certain measure of international understanding and the development of a degree of common ground in ethical and social idealism.

Political, economic and social theories have poured into these same Far Eastern communities like a flood and have been accepted in some cases with devastating effect upon the social orders of their people. Out of these currents of theories and systems had steadily emerged in most of the countries about the Pacific rim the principle of self-determination as expressed in a democratic form of government, of which becomes another common factor in the relationship between the peoples.

However, over against these various and profound trends that are creating a community life not only in the Pacific area but in the whole world, are definitely sinister factors and forces, in some cases by-products of those just enumerated, which not only are slowing up the process of international understanding, but are endangering if not actually undermining its foundations.

Disintegrating Forces.

The ease and speed of international communication is mixing the races more rapidly than they can be satisfactorily assimilated in the countries to which they go. Like the process of water seeking its own level, communities enjoying high standards of living, high wages and large material opportunities are attracting peoples from areas where standards are low, with disastrous effect upon the economic and social order. Ethical and religious principles which have evolved from a concept of society in which the freedom of choice and worth of the individual is the norm, have been planted in ancient communities which for thousands of years have revolved around the family and clan as pivot and standard of value. Revolutionary economic and political doctrines have challenged the right of existence of the present order in Eastern as well as Western countries, and governments are

helpless in attempting to close their frontiers or rid themselves of such menacing enemies.

Enormously complicating the international situation in the Pacific world, and forcing its way into almost every other inter-racial question, is the colour problem. The colour problem of the Pacific is accentuated by two inescapable factors; first, the Whites who live around its shores are for the most part of Anglo-Saxon stock, and harbour the most lively colour prejudice of any of the Western Peoples. Second, the Far Eastern neighbours of these Whites possess a racial pride, based upon the consciousness of inherited culture and capacity that equals and in certain respects surpasses that of their White neighbours. Were one racial group far below the other in ability or culture, the situation would be rendered much less acute.

The Impact of the West.

Moreover, the concepts of value, standards of virtue and of that which is decorous and fitting differ so radically between these members of the Pacific community as to render it extremely difficult if not impossible for either side to understand and do justice to some of the most treasured and fundamental values of the other. Again, fundamental differences of temperament have brought it about that the restless, aggressive, pioneering Anglo Saxon, drawn westward in search of adventure, material opportunity and empire, has played the role of an uninvited guest in the Far East, introducing his secrets of power, his science, militarism and educational and religious systems to a reluctant but tolerant Asia.

In this advance upon Asia the white man has made two fundamental mistakes; first in acting upon the assumption of absolute western superiority to the Orient and second in failing to differentiate in the introduction of his culture and religion between these spiritual enterprises on the one hand and his material, political and military programmes upon the other.

In the meantime came the great war, and the discovery on the part of Asia that the White man's feet were made of clay, and that his religion and whole scheme of civilization were powerless to avert the most horrible of human catastrophes. The Asiatic peoples were as a result thrown back upon themselves in a search for indigenous sources of power.

The Awakening East.

These peoples were not only swept with the wave of self-determination that rolled around the world following the war, but they awoke to the consciousness that whereas they had been sitting at the feet of the West as apt pupils, the West discounted or misunderstood them, and the desire was born to become more articulate and intelligible to their self-invited teachers.

The Japanese Exclusion clause of the Immigration Act passed by the American Congress in the Summer of 1924 demonstrated the increasing helplessness of Governments to negotiate international matters which concern the interests of the people in the face of popular conviction and prejudice, that increasingly the people of the great countries about the Pacific are captains of their own destiny and will determine their own international relations, and that peace between peoples must rest in the last instance upon the intelligence and goodwill of the people.

Finally the Great war, the Japanese Exclusion Bill and the increasing contacts and intelligence of peoples generally has made apparent in the Pacific area the inadequacy of the machinery of international relations and the helplessness of the old school diplomacy to cope with questions that root in misunderstanding and conflicting interests between nations.

Such was the background and the setting of the Pacific stage upon which the Institute of Pacific Relations came into being in July, 1925.

The Need For New International Machinery.

Several factors contributed to the organisation of the Institute. The suggestion of a conference of leaders from the countries around the Pacific came from a group of business and professional men in Hawaii. In this advanced frontier of America, the prosperity and even the existence of the island community depends upon the good-will and friendly co-operation of the nations of the Pacific. In these islands, too, there had been going on for one hundred years a fairly successful experiment in building a mutually dependent and friendly community from many diverse races and cultures. If such a community is possible in the island world, why not in the wider area, ran the argument. Hence the proposal that representatives of the various peoples around the Pacific rim should come together to talk over their mutual problems.

The promoters of the conference plan, moreover, were men of Christian faith and vision, who desired to see the principles of Christ applied in a practical way to some of the difficult problems of race relations in the Pacific.

For this reason, and because of the international character of the Young Men's Christian Association and its experience in organising conferences, the national committees of the Y. M. C. A. in eight of the countries of the Pacific were asked to assume responsibility for the arrangements of the conference and to select the delegates to attend.

An Experiment in U. S. A.

Another formative influence upon the Institute in its early period was that of the Survey of Race Relations upon the Pacific Coast of North America. This investigation of the relations between resident Orientals and whites from Canada to Mexico had succeeded in bringing together upon joint committees representatives of those groups of citizens holding the most diverse and antagonistic views upon the subject of Oriental immigration and activities in North America. An objective investigation was carried on by these committees and a comprehensive statement of findings in which all shared and on which a measure of agreement was reached was drawn up, marking a distinct advance in the understanding of the whole community of this most intricate and controversial issue.

On the conclusion of this survey the leaders of the movement identified themselves with the development of the new Institute, into which they incorporated something of the survey technique of investigation and of the practical results.

Another influence towards the Institute is that of certain leaders of the Williamstown Institute of Politics who generously gave of their time and counsel during the building period of the new organisation.

The First Conference, 1925.

The first conference of the Institute was held in Honolulu from July 1st to 15th, 1925. It was attended by 111 people from eight of the countries of the Pacific: Australia, Canada, China, Japan, Korea, New Zealand, Philippines and the United States. The meeting was one of discovery and exploration, in which leaders of public opinion and scholars from widely separated

peoples met to get acquainted, exchange points of view upon the problems of the Pacific, and to determine an adequate programme of action. The agenda treated such subjects as immigration and emigration, industry, education, religion, economics and some of the immediate political problems of China. At this meeting it was decided to form a permanent institute with branches in the various countries, a secretariat with headquarters in Honolulu was established and practical steps were taken for keeping contact between the various branches. An agreement was reached as to the outstanding problems of concern between the Pacific peoples and a comprehensive programme of research was determined upon. It was also decided to hold a second conference in the summer of 1927 for examining these questions in the light of whatever pertinent factual material could be assembled in the intervening period. At this 1925 conference the Directing Committees of the various national Y. M. C. A.'s, under whose auspices the meeting had been called, handed over their responsibility to an Organising Committee elected by the conference members, which undertook the task of permanent organisation of the new Institute.

Organising the Institute.

National Institute Councils were formed by the returning delegates in each country which had participated in the 1925 conference, and the general direction of the Institutes was vested in a Pacific Council composed of one member from each national council and one from Hawaii, as the seat of the secretariat to which is intrusted the carrying out of the Institute's work. The personnel of the Pacific Council is worthy of mention. President R. L. Wilbur of Leland Stanford Jr. University, California, is Chairman; Australia: Hon. F. W. Eggleston, former Attorney General for Victoria; Canada: Sir Robert Borden, former Premier of the Dominion; China: Dr. David Z. T. Yui, General Secretary of the Y. M. C. A. of China; Japan: Mr. J. Inouye, President of the Bank of Japan; New Zealand: Sir James Allen, former New Zealand Commissioner to London; Hawaii: F. C. Atherton, Castle & Cooke, Ltd., Treasurer of the Council.

Serving upon the various national councils are picked leaders of public opinion, representing the universities, the Press, Labour, the Church, commercial and banking circles and women's organisations. Upon the various research committees which

are undertaking the investigations determined by the conferences are some of the foremost specialists and authorities in the fields in question.

The Second Conference, 1927.

The 1927 conference of the Institute assembled again at Honolulu in July, and remained in session for two weeks. Its 137 members were selected with care by the national institute councils and also included representatives from the Philippines and Korea, chosen by local institute groups in those countries. Upon the invitation of the Pacific Council, the Royal Institute of International Affairs of London took the initiative in selecting and sending a very representative group from Great Britain. Members of the League of Nations Secretariat and the International Labour Office also attended as unofficial observers. The membership of the conference was made up as follows : Australia, 5 ; Canada, 13 ; China, 14 ; Great Britain, 14 ; Hawaii, 15 ; Japan, 18 ; Korea, 3 ; New Zealand, 5 ; Philippines, 3 ; United States, 44 ; League of Nations, 2 ; International Labour Office, 1.

Formal invitations had been sent to organisations in Russia, Mexico and the Dutch East Indies to participate in the conference, but for various reasons such participation proved to be impossible. The South America countries facing the Pacific were also not represented.

The second conference of the Institute marked a distinct advance over the first. The personnel of its membership attained a remarkably high average of ability, experience and influence. Notable experts in several of the spheres of agenda discussion were present and led in the study of the technical aspects of such questions as Population and Food Supply, Extraterritoriality, international Finance and Missions. The aggregate of the research work of the various national councils during the two-year period intervening since the previous meeting, enabled the secretariat to place in the hands of the members many valuable data papers and studies bearing directly upon the topics under discussion. The pertinence and accuracy of these studies made possible a distinct advance in the understanding of several of the difficult issues which had been under discussion at the first conference, such as migration, treatment of aliens and foreign missions.

What the Conference Accomplished.

Probably the most noteworthy results of the 1927 discussions were in the fields of Extraterritoriality, tariff revision and foreign concessions in China, in the question of Foreign Missions and International Relations and in the topic, discussed for the first time in the 1927 conference, of Population in relation to Food Supply. It was natural that China should occupy the centre of the stage in relation to the first two topics, while the participation of Chinese, British and American experts in the round table conversations on these questions pointed up the discussions, lent them a note of reality and threw much light upon possible lines of adjustment between widely separated points of view.

Japan's predicament, — the task of feeding a rapidly expanding population with agricultural resources that have nearly reached their maximum development — was brilliantly presented by two of her foremost chemists and agricultural authorities. Backed up by most striking sets of charts and exhaustive studies, the presentation of the problem of the first modern nation equipped with the panoply of science that is struggling to find the way out of a life and death dilemma, developed some of the keenest interest and most valuable discussions of the conference.

While attempting to reach no solutions to the questions discussed, this meeting succeeded in clearly defining the principal problems in the field of international relations in the Pacific and in determining upon a programme of study which may be considered as a first step towards ultimate solutions.

An Unofficial Organisation.

It is important to note that the Institute of Pacific Relations is an unofficial organisation. It has no connection with any government, and those who attend its meetings come as individuals under no instructions from any government or from any authoritative body. The Institute is non-sectarian, non-controversial and non-propagandist. Neither is it a pacifist society, although one of its most valuable by-products may prove to be the rendering of war as a means of settling international differences increasingly remote. Its aim is the improvement of the relations between the peoples of the Pacific and it proposes to attain this aim by increasing the understanding of these peoples regarding one another and the conditions under which they must work out their mutual destiny as neighbours in a self-conscious community.

Thus the chief characteristic of the Institute has to do with *facts* — the collection, exchange, discussion, study and dissemination of facts, — those facts which underlie the actual human relations in this part of the world.

The Institute also functions as a shock-absorber. It recognizes the presence of antagonisms, conflicts of interest and of opinion. These it frankly faces, and invites the fearless discussion and study of these apparently irreconcilable interests by the conference and research method.

It plays also the role of an interpreter — not interpreting the meaning of the research findings which it uncovers, but rather in revealing those less obvious characteristics of the peoples and their sources of culture to one another, elements that are essential to true international understanding and adjustments.

The Building of a New Community.

The little groups of leaders in the eight countries bordering this greatest of all oceans are one in the belief that they are faced with a new opportunity in history — the opportunity of making a fresh start in both the technique and spirit of human relations. They plan no less than the outlines of a new community in the Pacific, — a new community, free from the old jealousies and prejudice handed down from former centuries; a community not built upon the principle of the dominance of any one master, nor the leadership of any particular type of culture or civilisation, but rather a community in which mutual respect and opportunity, based upon the principle of equal rights and reciprocity, may be accorded to all, where differences of viewpoint and capacity will be made to contribute to the welfare of the whole, and peculiar gifts based upon race and differing emphases of values may enrich the entire neighbourhood.

Migration

By K. H. BAILEY.

The Man in the Moon must be puzzled by the way in which the lights that mark the dwellings of men are distributed in the great waters of the world, especially when nights are clear enough for him to distinguish the land masses. For it does seem astonishing that Japan, which is only half as big again as Victoria, should have ten times as many people as Australia, which is almost the size of Europe. It is the more odd since man is essentially a migratory animal, who, in all times, pressed out by difficulties and lured by hopes, has been on the move. Once, men migrated whole races strong, as when the Saxons turned Roman Britain into England. Then the world filled up, society became more complex, and the movement of men was no longer only by individuals or by tiny groups is it now obeyed.

Why Migration is Restricted.

But to-day, so great is man's restlessness in his present homes, that the movement even of individuals and of family groups, if unchecked, would constitute a migration on a scale without parallel in history. In 1913 a million and a quarter of migrants poured into the United States alone, — a host greater, as a writer in the Round Table remarked, than ever followed Attila. But checks have been imposed. Even the most stable society cannot at once absorb unlimited additional members, and many countries, especially those around the shores of the Pacific Ocean, have set limits within which alone migrants may come.

The restrictions thus imposed for the preservation of existing societies have naturally differed both in scope and method, for in any community migrants are more warmly welcomed from some countries than from others. Australia, for instance, has never been able to get enough British immigrants, but recently took steps to guard against an influx of Southern Europeans beyond her powers of absorption; the Immigration Act of 1925 empowered the Governor-General to prohibit,

either wholly or in excess of specified limits, the entry of aliens of any nationality, race, class, or occupation deemed by him unsuitable for admission. New Zealand requires all migrants other than British subjects to obtain a permit. The United States of America restricts annually 150,000 immigrants a year, allocating 100,000 to the United States and 50,000 to the American Society. Moreover, the English speaking countries of the Pacific, the restrictions are specially severe in the case of migrants from Asia. Students, travellers, and merchants may, indeed, reside temporarily in all these countries, on conditions which shall ensure their bona fides. But other classes are excluded, from the United States by statute, from Canada, in the case of Japanese, by agreement with Japan, and in other cases by statute, and from Australia by administrative action, by the operation of the dictation test provided by the Immigration Act of 1901. The language of that Act is not discriminatory; it simply prohibits the entry of "any person who fails to pass the dictation test, that is to say, who, when an officer dictates to him not less than 50 words in any prescribed language, fails to write them out in that language in the presence of the officer." The choice of the language, however, is in the officer's discretion, and in practice the test is applied only to labourers of Asiatic and African races.

Race Prejudice and Economic Competition.

These restrictions have unfortunately received some support because of the prejudice against the Chinese and Japanese. Race prejudice is a natural result of the differences in language and of unfamiliar customs that create distrust; it is fostered by the enjoyment of greater comfort, and intensified by the snobbishness of isolation. It becomes fatally easy where only a few have any contact with or even knowledge of, Orientals other than coolies. But race prejudice kindles contempt on the one hand, and hate on the other. It is denounced not uncertainly by Lothrop Stoddard, who would yet raise the barriers high against Asiatic immigration. It is a sin against Christian brotherhood.

But there are other grounds upon which restriction is supported, among which we may take the economic first. The white men around the Pacific have built up a high standard of living. Whether as factory worker, small manufacturer, trader, or farmer, the Chinese or Japanese would be able to work under conditions and for remuneration which would make white compe-

tition impossible, and experience alike in South Africa, in America, and in Australia is cited in proof. The result must be either that a caste system develops as in South Africa, or that the white man must lower his standard of living.

Now if migration raised economic questions alone, and if emigration were vital to the welfare of Asia, the dilemma of the Christian would be sore indeed. He could defend restriction only if he could set up against Asia a moral right to his present standard of living. But on the one hand, emigration would scarcely lessen population pressure in Asia, since, as Professor East says (in "Mankind at the Crossroads") as fast as some leave, others are born to take their place at Nature's table, and population grows ever up to the food supply. Industrial development will offer temporary relief, but permanent escape can come only by limitation of numbers, the surest road to which is to raise the standard of life. This is the great significance, for the East, of the International Labour Organisation.

Assimilation and Miscegenation.

Japan's leaders, indeed, have repeatedly declared that Japan does not seek outlets for migration, not deeming migration vital for her welfare. On the other hand, too, migration is far from raising economic questions alone. It raises urgent sociological problems as well. Will migrants lose if they bring with them the heritage of a free society? Will they retain it? Will they lose the new life and ideals? The answer depends partly upon the size of the community into which they come, and partly upon their own attitude towards it. The larger the society, the more readily it will absorb aliens, and American experience would seem to show that in externals at least, aliens as individuals may be assimilated very quickly. But if migrants come in numbers into a small society the case must be different. Will the society be a democracy. For while democratic institutions demand that those who work them shall think in common upon all fundamental subjects, there will speedily develop in that country not one society, but two, with two diverging sets of ideas and ideals, and that country will be set straight for race conflict. This is the story of half-caste Europe, and the British Empire too can testify to its truth.

Finally, migration raises biological questions. It will be observed that the foregoing view assumes that the two races will not become one by miscegenation, developing a hybrid culture.

Such a solution would certainly avoid race conflict, but it is doubtful whether any biologist would dare to advocate it, in the case of stocks as far apart as, say, Anglo-Saxons and Chinese. Present knowledge suggests only deterioration for its result. But in the Pacific countries this solution is practically improbable as well as biologically questionable. There is commonly among Anglo-Saxons an antipathy to such inter-racial marriage based, it is suggested, chiefly upon a feeling that it would place the position of women in marriage. For the offering of such marriages there would seem to be no place, as it were, from both races and respected by neither. If it be true then that the effects of unrestricted migration from Asia into small Anglo-Saxon communities would be biological deterioration, social and political conflict (to say nothing of economic dislocation), it is for the Christian to sympathize with those for him also to lend his help to those who seek a way whereby men of different races may be able to live side by side in peace. But in the meantime, it is not for him to bring comfort even to hundred of thousands of Orientals at the cost of bitterness untold for his children and theirs. He must look down the years as well as across the seas, conceive brotherhood vertically as well as laterally.

Exclusion or Limitation ?

All this, however, deals only with unrestricted migration. It submits a case for restriction, but it leaves two further problems untouched. Firstly, shall there be absolute exclusion, or only limitation of numbers, and secondly, by what method is it proper to impose restriction ? The questions are the more important because, as already indicated, it is not the fact but the method of restriction that is likely to be the subject of controversy. If the method of restriction is such as to be offensive to those concerned.

First of all, absolute exclusion would seem to be far the most inconsiderate method. It says : "None of your citizens is fit to be admitted to our society." But on the other hand "We can assimilate so many every year" is a perfectly friendly position, and if the applicants are admitted on terms of full equality, they will gradually melt into the community which admits them. So we shall have to choose between two methods. Shall it be done ? Our own method, by administrative action, was once favoured

as making no show of discrimination, but was soon found to be arbitrary and uncertain. Statutory restriction, as by a quota system, is disliked by countries affected because it treats immigration solely as a matter of domestic concern. We are left with the method of agreement, by which they are conceded an interest in the movements of their nationals.

For this very reason the Gentleman's Agreement between Canada and Japan is indicated as the best method of restriction, for under it the Japanese Government will issue passports each year only to an agreed number of Japanese other than the excepted classes. Citizens of Canada, British, American, and Japanese Commercial Travellers, and Tourists, and those of other Powers are free to enter and reside in the territory of each other. Japan has the name of equality, and Canada's needs are met by private arrangement. Not is this a small thing. Was it not Christ Himself who said that to give way to contempt to rob your brother of his self-respect, was next almost to murder? "Whoever shall say to his brother, 'Raca' shall be in danger," said the Master, "of the Council, and whosoever shall say 'Thou fool,' shall be in danger of the hell of fire."

Japan Faces East

(Anonymous. By an eminent Japanese who for obvious reasons is not able to sign the article).

The following are the names of the persons who have been appointed to the various positions in the various departments of the Government of the State of New York, for the year 1900:

Le décret du 12 mai 1924, par lequel le gouvernement a autorisé la formation d'une commission d'enquête sur la côte occidentale d'Afrique, a été accueilli avec une vive satisfaction par la presse et le public. Ce décret a été considéré comme une preuve que le problème de l'immigration est définitivement résolu par les lois sur l'étranger et la loi d'exclusion de 1924.

de tout le bassin Pacifique restera menacée tant que ce problème particulier ne sera pas connu des peuples qu'il concerne, dans tous ses détails. Je ne veux donc rouvrir aucune ancienne plaie, mais exposer tout simplement, sans diplomatie, une situation que la diplomatie officielle n'a pas résolue.

le concert international des peuples. C'est la note de l'atlantide Perry, ancrée à Uruga, qui a persuadé notre peuple de sortir de l'isolement qu'il s'imposait : c'est le grand ambassadeur américain Harrie et d'autres hommes de bien, qui ont été les premiers à nous ouvrir les portes de la loyale entre nos deux pays. L'Amérique a traité le Japon avec bonté, avec noblesse et désintéressement, sentiments qui se sont souvent manifestés spontanément, en particulier lors des cataclysmes nationaux. En retour, le Japon regardait à l'Amérique avec respect, confiance, et même avec fidélité. Cette compréhension réciproque qui était la garantie de la paix du Pacifique, pourquoi a-t-elle été modifiée?

Tout Etat souverain a le droit de régler ses affaires intérieures comme il l'entend, y compris la question des entrées et des sorties. Personne ne peut contester la liberté d'un Etat de décider si et quand il veut accepter des immigrants. Quand les Etats-Unis ont adopté les lois de migration installées en 1890 aux Etats-Unis le taux maximum des immigrants annuels (avec un minimum de 100 immigrants pour chaque pays) ce gouvernement était juridiquement dans son droit absolu. Il pouvait même

¹ Dr. Sydney L. Gulick, *Japanese on the Pacific Coast*.

permanently settled by the Alien Land Laws and the Exclusion Law of 1924¹."

Why Bring Up the Old Question ?

Some of my readers may therefore wonder why so late as in January 1928 this old question dated 1924 is taken up afresh. Has not enough been said and written already about it in the last four years? Has it not aroused in the past so much bitterness that the wisest thing now is to keep silent and forget it? For a sore and delicate question of this sort, why not leave it alone and let time heal it?

I do not fail to understand this hesitation. It is not that I appreciate its delicacy less but that I realise and feel more keenly the grave danger resulting from the general ignorance of the real point at issue. The future peace of that vast area called the Pacific Ocean is under menace as long as the real issue is not made clear to all the people concerned. Far be it from my intention to stir up unnecessary animosity by recalling any unpleasant incident of the past. The problem of the Pacific remains unsolved and it has to be faced. Let us face squarely, in a simple, undiplomatic way, the problem which unsimple diplomacy has failed to solve.

The Past Relationship.

What were the outstanding features of the American-Japanese relationship in the past? Every school-child knows what they were as they are recorded even in most elementary text books of history. Was it not America which knocked at the doors of feudal Japan some seventy years ago and awakened her from age-long lethargy and led her finally into the modern international community? Ever since Perry's fleet anchored in Uraga and persuaded the obstinate hermit nation to abandon her self-imposed seclusion, ever since Harris, the great American Ambassador, and other men of high character devoted their lives to helping Japan to rise and enter into the modern life of nations, a tradition of loyal co-operation has been firmly established between these two

¹ Cf. Dr. Sidney L. Gulick: *Japanese on the Pacific Coast*. The excellent report to the Committee on Relations with the Orient of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America and to the National Committee on American-Japanese Relations.

countries. America has treated Japan always with fairness, courtesy, and even with unselfish friendliness, which manifested itself from time to time spontaneously and especially at moments of national calamity, while Japan in her turn has looked to America with appreciation, confidence, and even with fidelity. No two nations have been on a more cordial footing than these two countries since there was a bond of mutual understanding. This bond of mutual understanding, it may not be ignored, has indeed been the guarantee of the peace of the Pacific. What has happened lately to that unique relationship?

America's Right.

Every sovereign state has a perfect right to regulate its own internal affairs as it deems most fit. Every country is entitled, if necessary, to limit or check the flow of immigrants as it pleases. I do not question this. Japan recognises it fully. In 1924, the United States Government passed a law limiting the number of aliens of each nationality who should be allowed to come in each year to 2 per cent of the population of each nationality resident in the United States in 1890, with a minimum of 100 immigrants per annum for each nation. In so far as this limitation is concerned, America was exercising her legitimate right. It is for America to decide who and how many should be admitted to her shores. Even when she decided by law to exclude orientals, she was still technically within her rights. A doubtful situation however developed when the intention of the law was to discriminate against a particular nation or people. Was this either necessary or just?

In the early days, prior to the enactment of this law, there was a time when all oriental labourers were welcomed to the American continent. Limitation began when the influx of immigrants became so voluminous that the Americans on the Pacific Coast were alarmed. In order to adjust the situation as regards the Chinese labourers, a treaty was entered into in 1882 by the Governments of the United States on the one hand, and China on the other. The exclusion of Chinese labour was effected, as it would be effected between any two civilised countries, with mutual respect and upon mutual accord. Then later, the flow of Japanese immigrants increased to such a point towards 1907 that it was felt that another measure must be taken in respect of them. Such a measure was consequently taken in a gentleman-like manner, hence the popular name, the "Gentlemen's Agree-

ment" for the understanding made in that year between the Tokyo and Washington Governments. Japan thereby gave her word of honour that henceforth she would grant passports to the United States only to a limited class of her people acceptable to the latter — with the tacit understanding that America in her turn would not put Japan in a humiliating situation by imposing a bar against Japanese immigration. Thus, the act of limitation, which was virtually a total exclusion of Japanese labour, was carried out again in conformity with the dictates of courtesy and good will, as would be expected of any civilised country.

Since the Gentlemen's Agreement was made, Japan has kept her word conscientiously and is not conscious of ever having violated her pledge. No one, as a matter of fact, either in America or elsewhere, has, to my knowledge, contested Japan's good faith in this matter, and Japan would have gladly continued to co-operate with the United States Government in controlling the entrance of the Japanese into American territory. Moreover, the principles of the Gentlemen's Agreement would not have been impaired by the general Immigration Law of 1924. But what did America do in that year?

If the general Immigration Law were to apply equally without discrimination to the Japanese, only one hundred Japanese immigrants would be admitted to the United States. If the population of the United States is 110,000,000 or more, 100 would be less than one in a million. But America, in passing the law of 1924, was unwilling to have even one Japanese to a million American people. She decided that Japan must not be on an equal footing on the quota basis which applies to all other countries. There was no mention of either the Gentlemen's Agreement or of the arrangement of the matter by treaty. The so-called Gentlemen's Agreement was scrapped. America simply forbade the Japanese to enter, slamming the door in their face. Since the Gentlemen's Agreement was no more than an informal understanding, America had, technically speaking, full right to do this.

What About Japan's Honour ?

In the course of some 2,600 years of her national history, Japan has never been conquered, nor even successfully invaded by a foreign army. She has never suffered defeat from an enemy. Not once since the founding of the nation has she received an

insult from abroad — never until 1924. The name of Nippon has been the pride of all Japanese : the sons of *Samurai* have been taught that their country, the " Land of Gods," has never been and must never be defiled by foreigners, and that pride, that spirit of patriotism, has never waned. Not only has it never dwindled, but it has been roused of late and intensified since the incident of 1924. The spirit lives and is surging through the blood of all Japanese who have been taught to offer their lives to defend the honour of their land and of their fellow-countrymen. Thus, for more than 2,600 years, the glorious history of Japan has remained without blemish, jealously guarded and courageously defended, never put to humiliation — never until 1924.

Japan to-day faces East profoundly humiliated and disillusioned. Humiliated because her people have been condemned before the world as an inferior nation, openly and unwarrantedly. And disillusioned because the insult has come not from an enemy, but from a country to which she always looked with confidence and even with fidelity. America has deliberately broken the traditional bond of friendship. She has failed to observe the commonest rules of courtesy, good manners and good will. How could one find in that act, wilfully committed, in the face of vigorous protest from within and from without, any sign of either good faith or even good sense?

A Deplorable Situation.

Japan faces East — mortified.

And I deplore this as much because of personal as national and international sentiments. Some twenty years ago I went to the United States of America as a boy to study. I arrived in San Francisco practically penniless, but with the help of generous American friends (and there are many of them), I went through High School, College and the University. During those years of sojourn there I have learned about America's glorious traditions. I know America, to which I owe the major part of my education. I respect that enlightened country which built up my manhood. I even love and admire that wonderful land called America where I spent my youth, with exciting experiences, inspiring incidents — all cherished memories now.

As a man, profoundly indebted to America, I sorely deplore the act committed by her which is injurious to her own traditions.

As a son of *Samurai* in whose veins still runs the passionate blood of patriotism, I resent the humiliation caused to my country and my fellow-countrymen. I suffer. And this, I know, is a suffering shared by all Japanese who are concerned about the future peace of the world.

Had I not believed fundamentally in the good will, the good faith, and good, sound, common sense of the American people, I would not have consented to raise this question at this late stage. Disheartened, I have yet not lost hope. Let me state now what Japan really wants, for that should be known for the honour of both Japan and America.

Japan's Demand.

The yellow journalism has been making free use of the question of Japanese emigration to America. I fear too much sensational and disquieting news has been spread by the Press. But what does Japan really want? If Japan were insisting on sending an unlimited number of her labourers to America or to any country, for that matter, the situation would be hopeless. Japan's demand, however, has been clearly set forth in a letter of Mr. Hanihara, the Japanese Ambassador to the Washington Government, sent on April 10, 1924. The letter said in part :

" The Japanese Government showed from the very beginning of this problem their perfect willingness to co-operate with the United States Government to effectively prevent by all honourable means the entrance into the United States of such Japanese nationals as are not desired by the United States, and have given ample evidence thereof, the facts of which are well known to your Government. To Japan the question is not one of expediency but of principle. To her the mere fact that a few hundreds or thousands of her nationals will or will not be admitted into the domains of other countries is immaterial, so long as no question of national susceptibilities is involved. The important question is whether Japan as a nation is or is not entitled to the proper respect and consideration of other nations. In other words, the Japanese Government asks of the United States Government simply that proper consideration ordinarily given by one nation to the self-respect of another, which after all forms the basis of amicable international intercourse throughout the civilised world ".

In other words, what Japan wants is simply that her people shall not be picked out and branded thereby as undesirable

people, unworthy of such proper consideration and treatment as is ordinarily accorded to other peoples of the world.

Those who imagine that Japan is afraid and will abjectly acquiesce or remain long in this humiliating situation have not learned to know the Japanese spirit. Nor are they right who expect that Japan will in the end forget it if people keep silent about it. Still more wrong and utterly mistaken are those who believe that Japan with her huge army and formidable navy will seek at some moment to settle the question by appealing to arms. Unprecedented as was the incident and painful indeed as was the experience, the immigration grievance is not sufficient to arouse the Japanese nation to-day to engage in desperate warfare. Japan is armed, and militarism, which germinates bitterness and resentment, has, I regret to say, not completely died away. But I may assure my friends that Japan will not draw her sword on this single grievance.

The Solution.

Bearing on this point, a few important words have been spoken by the Japanese Foreign Minister, Baron Shidehara. He said : "I regret that the question of discriminatory treatment involved in the United States Immigration Act of 1924 remains unadjusted... (However) I am firmly convinced that the two nations, conscious of their important missions of guardians of the peace of the Pacific, will stand side by side for all time in friendly accord for the fulfilment of such responsibilities".

This, I consider, is the attitude which the Japanese nation takes, and will continue to take. Japan wants nothing that is not either logical or reasonable. All that Japan claims is, as it has been aptly summarised by a few American friends recently, "an honourable and friendly co-operation, as among equals, which cannot exist as long as discriminatory measures place her before the world on a basis of inequality¹".

There is only one solution which is just and satisfactory, and that is to grant the equal quota basis to Japan as is done to all civilised nations of the world.

In conclusion, let me repeat, Japan is facing East, humiliated. But Japan will bear this, and I know America will repent and

¹ The American Friends Service Committee : *Message to the American People on Japan*.

correct what one of her own eminent statesmen called "the most disastrous and appalling legislative blunder," and another "an international disaster of the first magnitude." Japan will wait with patience and with dignity.

I only ask, how long will she have to wait?

Americans Look Westward

By NORMAN F. COLEMAN

(Jusqu'au dernier quart de siècle, l'Ouest était pour les Américains la petite porte de derrière. C'est par la Côte Atlantique que leur venaient les visites de famille et de personnalités distinguées ; par la porte de service les domestiques et les domestiques. Les navires de commerce et de guerre et l'avenir de l'Amérique peut être tout autrement sûr, c'est l'Ouest, sur la côte Atlantique.

Les premiers Orientaux venus en Amérique étaient des ouvriers soumis, patients, laborieux, que les fermiers, les mineurs, les mécaniciens de l'Ouest regardaient volontiers comme une race inférieure. Cette attitude, quelques Américains étroits la conservent encore et leur familiarité méprisante se mêle maintenant quelquefois d'hostilité. Car l'inférieur est souvent devenu pour eux un concurrent dangereux. Tout récemment des travailleurs japonais ont été chassés de deux villes du Nord-Ouest ; dans un des cas avec de telles violences que des sanctions judiciaires et de l'ordre ont été imposés à ceux qui les avaient chassés. Le fait de cet usage de la violence contre des étrangers est une chose qui ne se fait pas dans les autres pays du monde. Les Japonais sont venus en Amérique à la fin du dix-neuvième siècle et se sont installés dans des appartements minuscules et qui conservaient chez nous ce genre de vie regardé comme répugnant. Les ouvriers japonais sont aussi chez eux accoutumés à travailler sous la direction d'un patron qui retient une partie de leur salaire et qui, en échange, leur donne un logement et les offre des cadeaux aux commerçants et aux fonctionnaires locaux. Mais en Amérique ils sont considérés avec mépris par les autres et leur position est inférieure au supérieur.

Les employeurs d'aujourd'hui pour les raisons économiques et politiques préfèrent les ouvriers japonais qui sont disciplinés, ils travaillent volontiers en équipes et n'abandonnent leur tâche que lorsque l'autre équipe est à l'œuvre.

Dans les grandes villes l'acuité de ce conflit social et économique est moins grande ; on cite l'exemple d'un groupe d'ouvriers japonais qui, chez eux, avaient acquis de réelles qualités d'acteurs amateurs et purent organiser dans le plus grand enthousiasme une représentation au cercle ouvrier de l'usine devant une salle comble. Mais des faits de ce genre sont rares.

Il faut bien avouer qu'en général la défiance est plus grande à l'égard des Japonais que des Chinois, car ils ont été plus prompts à s'élever socialement et à devenir, dans des entreprises agricoles, industrielles et commerciales des concurrents dangereux pour les Américains, au lieu que les Chinois consentent davantage à vivre en colonies séparées et à se spécialiser dans des travaux inférieurs auxquels répugne la main-d'œuvre blanche.

Sans aucun doute les lois d'exclusion, si humiliantes qu'elles soient pour les Orientaux, ont diminué l'hostilité éprouvée à leur égard en Amé-

rique. Ne craignant plus un afflux considérable d'Orientaux inassimilables, on a été disposé à regarder avec plus de sympathie les Orientaux déjà installés chez nous. Cependant les préjugés de race demeurent et se manifestent de façon blessante pour des hommes et des femmes qui se sentent les héritiers d'une civilisation beaucoup plus ancienne que la nôtre. Un exemple, tout récemment un professeur de langue d'anglais et philosophie d'une université américaine, confessa à un de nos amis dans beaucoup de pays, dut, sous une pluie battante, dans une de nos cités occidentales, être détrempé et couvert, à chaque pas, de boue et de sang. Néanmoins l'effort de compréhension se développe, de l'aveu même des voyageurs orientaux qui constatent les progrès accomplis depuis vingt-cinq ans.

Une autre raison de cette amélioration des rapports entre les Orientaux et les Américains dans l'Ouest est dans l'assimilation progressive des représentants des races jaunes. Cette assimilation n'est pas cependant sans créer de nouvelles difficultés, car des milliers d'Asiatiques ont été attirés par les États-Unis, attirés par les perspectives de fortune et de bien-être, mais ils ne sont pas tout à fait adaptés à la vie américaine. Quant à leur culture, leur esprit et leur genre de vie, alors que la société américaine n'est pas encore disposée à les accueillir sur un pied d'égalité. Ils se trouvent ainsi entièrement isolés, tant du côté de leur propre patrie, qu'au point de vue des traditions, que du nôtre où ils sont encore considérés avec bien des réserves. C'est ce qu'expriment bien des confessions déchirantes de jeunes filles et de jeunes gens élevés dans nos écoles et nos universités. Je veux bien que cet isolement soit une épreuve pour les caractères. Comme le disait un notable japonais en 1904, « Les Américains nés en Amérique veulent se faire une place, qui leur permette d'exercer leurs spécialités et ils s'imposeront. » Ajoutons aussi que ces jeunes Orientaux américains (ils le sentent d'ailleurs) ont la glorieuse tâche d'incarner en eux les meilleurs éléments de deux cultures : l'orientale et l'occidentale. Cependant cette sorte d'isolement où nous contrainsons à vivre nos compatriotes de race jaune est la source de trop d'ennuis pour qu'il ne constitue pas un très grand danger. Quand on voudra au lieu des mesures d'isolement et de restriction, on s'efforcera de créer une atmosphère de compréhension et de bien-être, on s'efforcera de créer une atmosphère de bien-être.

Il ne faut pas que l'attitude de réserve de l'Occident nous empêche d'être ouverts à la compréhension et de regarder avec sympathie les autres. En voici quelques-unes. À l'heure actuelle, d'innombrables de la côte Pacifique les problèmes de race sont étudiés. Les étudiants américains de nos collèges et de nos universités ont été encouragés à s'intéresser à la culture et aux respects pour la dignité et la vie humaine. Dans le projet de nos institutions des cercles internationaux permettent le contact et la discussion entre jaunes et blancs. Notons aussi les voyages d'étudiants en Orient ; il y en a déjà eu trois au Japon et deux d'entre eux ont été poursuivis jusqu'en Chine. Dans ces deux pays, les participants de ces voyages collectifs ont assisté aux congrès d'étudiants nationaux ; ils y ont noué des amitiés ; un d'entre eux même est demeuré au Japon pour une année, un autre est retourné en Orient après ses examens pour y poursuivre ses études. Cette année nous faisons un essai nouveau. Le docteur T. T. Low de Yenching University à Peking est parti en France, des universités pour une année de conférences et de discussions sur les institutions, les coutumes et la pensée de l'Occident. Cherchons les efforts que la Chine d'aujourd'hui fait pour s'adapter au monde moderne. Nous espérons

que cette expérience, si profitable, se renouvellera chaque année ; car c'est sans doute la façon la plus utile d'entrer en contact avec un peuple que de se faire des amis dans son sein et de le connaître par des relations directes et personnelles).

Up to the last quarter-century most Americans regarded their country's western coast as its back door. Relatives and distinguished visitors entered by the front door, which faced toward the Atlantic. The Pacific Coast was, so to speak, the servants' and tradesmen's entrance. In the last twenty-five years, however, Americans have become aware of the importance of their back-door neighbours, and now America has two fronts. It looks westward as well as eastward. It wonders whether the influences and opportunities of its future may not perhaps come by way of the Pacific more than by way of the Atlantic.

The first Orientals to come to America were labourers, patient, plodding, submissive ; and the pushing, venturing western farmers and miners and railroaders and steamboat men easily regarded them as representatives of an inferior race. That attitude still survives. There are many brusque, hard-working, narrow-minded Americans on this coast who are ready to address any Chinese familiarly as " John," and who speak indiscriminately of Japanese labourers, merchants, and scholars as " Japs."

Economic and Social Conflicts.

The easy contempt expressed in these terms has frequently been tinged with hostility. The social inferior has become, in many cases, a successful competitor. We hear in our day variations upon the tune played long ago by " Truthful James " :

" And he rose with a sigh
And he said, ' Can this be ?
We are ruined by Chinese cheap labour '
And he went for that heathen Chineese."

From two sawmill towns in our northwest in recent years Japanese labourers have been driven out. In one case the men and women of the town used mob violence, which led to court action and the imposition of a heavy fine upon the offenders. The ground of antagonism was partly fear of lowered wage

standards, but more opposition to the setting up of unfamiliar and distasteful domestic and social conditions. Japanese are accustomed in their own land to live in small houses crowded closely together, and they are willing in America to put up with housing conditions that are felt by Americans to be a disgrace to the community. Japanese labourers are accustomed in their own land to secure and to hold jobs under a "boss" who takes a portion of their wages. The "boss" in turn is accustomed on special occasions to offer presents to superintendent and manager. Transferred to America, these customs are readily interpreted as tribute from inferior to superior, and hence are scorned by independent American working-men.

By employers, on the other hand, for certain monotonous mechanical tasks Japanese labourers are preferred, because they are steady and dependable and work well together in gangs. Under their accustomed contract system, Japanese labourers do not quit without others at hand to take their places.

In cities this stress of social and economic conflict is apt to be mitigated, and comradely relations may be established between occidental and oriental workmen. In one mill, there was a group of Japanese who had acquired skill in their own land in amateur theatricals. They put on a performance in the employees' club house which crowded the auditorium to the doors and was received with unstinted praise. Not often, however, does one hear of efforts to break through racial barriers meeting with such friendly response.

One is bound to say also that in general the Japanese have been more feared and disliked than the Chinese. They have been more active in raising their social status and in pushing out into agricultural, industrial and commercial enterprises where they have come into sharp competition with Americans. The Chinese have been more willing to live in colonies in the larger cities and to specialize in occupations not eagerly followed by their white neighbours.

Race Prejudice -- Past and Present.

There can be no doubt that exclusion laws, however distasteful and humiliating to oriental nations, have operated to reduce hostility to Orientals already in America. Fear of a large influx of "unassimilable" Orientals seems to have been largely groundless. Nevertheless it was a real fear. Its removal has taken the edge off the anxiety of many of our people and has disposed

them to treat in a friendlier way the Orientals already here, whether of the first or the second generation, whether aliens or American citizens. Race prejudice remains and shows itself sometimes in ways that are galling to men and women whose racial pride is based upon a longer record of civilized experience than we can boast. Not long ago a Chinese scholar, Doctor of Philosophy from an American University, a well-known and welcome lecturer in many lands, tramped the rainy streets of a western city, from barber shop to barber shop seeking to have his hair cut and was admitted only at his fifth place of call. Nevertheless the tide of understanding and goodwill is rising. Oriental visitors who came to us twenty years ago, and who now repeat their visit, invariably comment on the favourable change that has taken place. They do not now meet the hard looks and the contemptuous remarks that were experienced in the old days.

This mitigation of racial hostility in our Pacific Coast states has accompanied a steady decline in the ratio of Orientals to the total population in the last twenty-five years. It is explained partly by this steady decline and partly by the assimilation of the Orientals to American ways of thinking and living. Second generation Orientals have played an important part in this process.

The Second Generation Problem.

Chinese and Japanese boys and girls born in America and educated in the public schools have been so thoroughly Americanized that, except by colour and facial contour, they are indistinguishable from the boys and girls of the white race with whom they associate. Instead of proving unassimilable these young people are assimilated too rapidly for the comfort and understanding of their parents, and for their own accommodation to their slowly changing environment. They are ready to take their places freely among their fellow Americans of the white race before these are ready freely to give them the social and industrial and professional opportunities which they crave. There is a consequence much bitter disappointment and bitterness in the hearts of second generation Orientals on the Coast. One young man has explained his situation in these words:

"In language, in thought, in ideals, in customs, in everything, I was American. But America wouldn't have me. She wouldn't recognize me in high school, she put the pictures of those of my race at the tail end of the year book... She won't

give me service, when I go to a barber shop... She won't give me a job, unless it be a menial one that no American wants. I thought I was American, but America wouldn't have me. Once, I was American, but America made a foreigner of me — not a Japanese, but a foreigner — a foreigner to any country, for I am just as much a foreigner to Japan as to America."

A Challenge to Endeavour.

Doubtless this conflict when it is met bravely and wisely makes for the strengthening of character. It nerves the will and sharpens the judgment for the winning of respect and confidence and the commanding of opportunities commensurate with ability. A Japanese father living in California makes this forecast :

"If the American-born Japanese are to win a place for themselves, they will have to excel in some special line, and that idea is quite largely responsible for the encouragement which Japanese parents give their children in school. In this connection, we may learn a lesson from Japan. In Japan handicapped persons are not treated as they are in America, but they turn to some field in which they come to excel, as when blind persons specialize in music. Likewise in America, those who are handicapped on account of racial discriminations must make a place for themselves through excellence in some special field."

Doubtless also these young Oriental-Americans will enrich themselves and us by new combinations of the best characteristics of East and West. One feels this high possibility in the following expression of purpose by a young woman :

"In us Japanese-Americans, in whom the East and West have met, I want to combine the best elements of both civilizations ; in other words, I want to help develop personalities in whom the modesty and gentleness of the Japanese girl go hand in hand with the vivacity, the openmindedness, and the big-heartedness of her American sister, so that we Japanese-Americans shall make of ourselves a people of whom both Japan and America will be proud."

In spite of these brave and hopeful utterances there is grave danger in the situation in which these young people find themselves, danger that they may fail to find a place for happy work in America, and that they may be forced, under heavy handicap, to return to the land of their fathers and there add their bit to the store of resentment against the land that has rejected them.

It would be hard to overestimate the evil effect in the old land of reports of injustice visited upon the heads of emigrants or visitors to the new. Such reports spread like wild fire and, under the influence of wounded racial pride, are almost certain to be exaggerated.

How the Colleges are Helping.

The picture here painted is not a bright one. Perhaps it is too dark, but I think not. On the other hand I feel sure that especially in the colleges the light is growing. Every Pacific Coast Student Conference takes this as one of its major problems. Oriental students in our colleges and universities are speaking out manfully and are winning respect by their fearlessness as well as by their vigor of intellect. Most institutions of any size have created something like a debating society or another in which students may try out their traditional opinions and attitudes in discussions with men and women of different training and background.

A second means of international and racial education has been developed in recent years in the form of student pilgrimages to other lands. Three such "pilgrimages of friendship" have gone from the Pacific Coast to the Orient, all spending some weeks in Japan and two going on to China. It has been possible to arrange for these groups of student visitors to share for a few days in the life of the student conferences in Japan and China. Personal friendships have been formed which have been maintained by later correspondence. From the first party one American student remained in Japan for a year's teaching, and another has, since his graduation, gone to the Orient for further study and acquaintance. All fifteen students in the party with which I was associated, agreed that the three months of living with a strange people had given them more enlightenment than any year they had spent in college.

International Education.

This year another venture in international education is being made upon our Coast. On invitation from our colleges and universities, Dr. T. T. Lew of Yenching University, Peking, is giving nine weeks to lectures, discussions and conversation with students and teachers, chiefly in elucidation of the characteristic institutions and habits of thought of the Chinese people. His visits are proving fruitful in a clearer understanding among us

of the peculiar difficulties this ancient people is facing in these times, and of the ways in which the Chinese are changing their social and political organization and their modes of life in order to keep up with the changing modern world. We hope that each year a distinguished oriental scholar may visit us, staying long enough on our campuses for us really to know him, and through him to gain some insight into his people's historical development and their peculiar ways of thought and feeling.

There is probably no other way of promoting racial co-operation so effective as personal acquaintance on the basis of mutual confidence and respect. Whenever one gains a friend in a distant land one sees the people of that land in a new and personal light. They are no longer mere uncouth and crowded shapes, but people: individual fathers and husbands and brothers and neighbors, with a human light on their faces and in their eyes. If we are to meet the international and interracial difficulties thrust upon us in these days of rapid world-wide communication and contact, we must promote such friendships, we must organize opportunities for such fellowship.

The New American

By KENSUKE KAWACHI

The "New American" does not need any introduction to-day. He walks on our streets, waits on customers, works in the offices, labours in the manufacturing plants, grows in the pine-apple and cane fields, and craves for the good things of life. To some, he is a problem, to others, he is an average citizen, and to a few he is a new type that ushers in a new era of citizenship conceptions. He is a question mark to many observant eyes, and, in spite of his well deserved purposes, he is misunderstood and questioned. For his sake, for the defense of this "New American" I make my appeal.

The Son of the East in Hawaii.

Who is the "New American," this man who presumes to use that great name, American? He is not a son of the world across the Atlantic, the Saxon, the German, the Celt, or the Helvetian, but he is a son of the old world, son of the East, son of the Orient. He is not as tall nor as physically developed as his older brother. But he shares with him the American spirit. He unites with his older brother in a brotherhood of unity with one interest and with one law. Spreading out on the different islands of the Territory, here on the outskirts of a great nation, the "New American" is a member of a proud family that fuses together all rivalries into one national will — a national will which is not local, selfish, biased or undeservedly proud; but that which looks out for the good of all and renders service to be rendered to his country. He is the Hawaiian born child of Japanese ancestry.

The "New American" is but a drop in a bucket when compared to the great American commonwealth; but here in the Territory, he is spoken of as a dominant, expressive individual. According to the study made by Dr. Romanzo Adams, of the University of Hawaii, his voting strength in 1941 will be 30,000 out of a possible 135,000. Obviously he is far from being a majority; yet his strength is feared and is suspiciously watched. In the

face of such study, does it still indicate a situation such as some extremists are wont to picture it, a "Japanized" Hawaii? The champion scare producer who is constantly popping up the bogie that the high Japanese birth rate will enable them ultimately to control that state, needs to be met squarely. In his trembling fear, he has forgotten the sociological experience which is universal to mankind, that, as the standards of living rise, the birth rate always declines. The "New American" will not escape this experience. More grievous to him however, is the supposition of the scare producer that the loyalty of this "New American" is to be questioned. What a satire on the life of a man who has a country and a home!

A Loyal Citizen.

This "new American" it was who first suggested the control of the foreign language press. He was the first to suggest the supervision of the foreign language schools. He will be among the first to object to those factors which handicap him in his Americanization. May we hope that the crisis will never arise; but if it does arise, if it is necessary for his country to resort to arms, as the final form of settlement with any nation, he will be among the first to throw himself into the front ranks with the rest of the Americans. Yet there are some who doubt the sincerity of this "New American," and are willing to destroy the very life blood of him by denying him the privilege of becoming an American citizen because his parents are ineligible to become citizens under our laws. Why such attitude of injustice? Is it not rather a superficial conclusion drawn from preconceived prejudices and studies collected from pitiful cases or unusual exceptions? Will one expect the "New American" to consent peacefully to be trampled upon, without resistance, by the platoons or propagandas of a few intolerant jingoists? How the footfall of future years sounds ominous to observant ears. America means to the "New American" the principles for which America has stood during these long years of its existence — the principles of justice, freedom, and the right to the pursuit of happiness.

In the class rooms of the different schools, both private and public, the "New American" averages well with the best that the Territory has to offer. His eagerness for education is an outstanding characteristic. This eagerness is due not alone to his ambition, but is also implanted and fostered in him by his parents. His parents are eager that he should rise to a higher

station in life than they themselves occupy. Hawaii has no difficulty in enforcing the compulsory attendance law with him. He realizes that though education is in the process of change in present-day civilization, he is being educated for democracy; that he is being sent out from school to assume the obligations of the practical concerns of business, of the professions and the obligations of life itself. He is thus equipped to be the best citizen any country may be proud to possess. Shall he not be given an exhibition of that Christian brotherhood — fair play, humane treatment, and sympathetic good will? Shall he not be encouraged to be prepared to do his best? Shall he not be given the best that Christian American civilization has to offer so that he may grow up enthusiastic over his school and the country it represents? Oh, "Old Americans," in him you have the elements to build the bridge of understanding and good will between America and the Orient. He is there to give his best — will you not give yours?

Between the Old and the New.

The "New American" has to meet, in addition to his personal problems, the difficulties of poor environment. His parents came to Hawaii as cheap plantation labourers, who are in the main uneducated and have low standards of living when compared to American ideals. At home, his parents complain that he does not speak polite Japanese, and that he does not in any way try to improve that language which to them is very precious. At school and public places, the "Old Americans" complain that he does not speak good English, and that his influence is detrimental to the education of their children. He seems like the plaything of Time. A groping youth staggers, falls and is frowned upon, but rises afresh to face the new dawn. Is there a soul, is there some one who will open his heart to understand him?

As to religious convictions, this "New American" is quite certain of his steps. Thanks to his many Christian friends, he has learned of the higher principles — the principles of Christ by which to govern his own difficulties, his country's problems, and the world affairs. He does not, however, see the beautiful alone. He sees about him hypocrisy, shallow religious intolerance, and gross materialism even in the homes of those who profess to call themselves Christians. At school he wonders why his white American brothers do not take to the Christian religion as he

does. He wonders why Christianity, that religion which has been introduced to him by the western nations, is not outwardly and frankly supported by the sons of the West. Is it any wonder then that at times he doubts severely the efficacy of the Christian religion to solve the intricate problems of human relationship? The life of Christ, however, challenges him to a new hope, and in spite of difficulties, he rallies to the call with such rapidity that Christian organizations are finding it difficult adequately to take care of him. Oh, American brothers, with zeal and eagerness this "New American" accepts with open mind and open heart this religion which is your birthright, this religion upon which your institutions are founded. Is he not worthy to be called your brother? Shall a heart understand him?

Bridging the Gulf.

The "New American" realizes that he has a special service to perform, better than any other American; it is to promote understanding and good will between America and the Orient. He understands the peoples of both countries and knows that he can do a great deal in bringing about mutual respect and sympathy. He is not ashamed of his ancestors nor of their splendid history and civilization, and will strive to make them better known to his American brothers. It will be his place to try and help the people of Japan to see and understand it.

China and the West¹

By C. C. Wu.

When China suffered defeat at the hands of Japan in 1894, the full extent of the incompetency and corruption of the effete Manchu Dynasty was bared to the world. The western Powers were not slow to profit by the knowledge. Germany seized Kiaochow and dominated the Province of Shantung. Russia took a lease for Port Arthur and Dalny, thus satisfying her long cherished ambition of getting an ice-free port. Britain leased Weihaiwei and the mainland opposite Hongkong called Kowloon. France leased Kwangchow Wan. Of course, these leases were for practical purposes merely a euphonious name for cession of territory. At the same time, the Powers rivalled each other in getting valuable contracts for the building of railways, opening of mines, carrying out of various enterprises, and the making of loans. Particularly important was the matter of railways, which entailed rights and opportunities not dreamed of in other countries, amounting in classic instances to virtual exercise of sovereignty. This not too edifying scramble to get the most out of the weak Manchu was known as the Battle of Concessions. But it was not all. Not content with what they had already got, which would take some little time to digest, even with ostrich-like capacity, they proceeded to mark out what they expected to consume in the more or less near future. A large and indefinite area, such as "north of the Great Wall," or the valley of the Yangtze River, would be earmarked for later political and economic exploitation by a Power and would be known as its "sphere of influence." Small wonder that Chinese and foreigners thought that the partition of China was about to begin. And retribution came in the shape of Boxers.

The Boxers.

They were, of course, ignorant and superstitious men who thought that the expulsion or extermination of the comparatively

¹ This article is reprinted from "Present - Day China," a collection of papers published by the Student Departments of the Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A. of China.

few foreigners living in China would solve all difficulties. For their crass ignorance and their barbarous acts no excuse can be offered. At the same time, it cannot be denied that there were the germs of nationalistic consciousness and patriotic instinct in the movement. It was not a mere coincidence that Boxerism originated in the Province of Shantung, where the people were treated to a taste of Prussian militarism. Besides the political aggressions of the Powers, the people often suffered from wrongs of another kind inflicted voluntarily or involuntarily by foreigners. They originated in the tendency of certain missionaries to interfere, with frequently too successful results, in the local administration, in particular that of justice. What the motive was, whether the imperialistic one which is little compatible with the preaching of religious faith, or the human one of protecting a convert with the missionary's magic cloak of extraterritoriality, it is unnecessary to inquire. It sufficed that the tendency was duly noted by the people of the town, or the village, particularly the least desirable portion of them. The missionary found his flock increasing at a rapid rate, but he did not always suspect that some of them were there to get his protection, while others, worse still, were using his influence to oppress their neighbours. The people were thus ill-disposed towards certain missions and their converts. In this way foreign diplomatic and missionary activities prepared the ground for the Boxer uprising, while the Chinese peasant's misguided patriotism and the Manchu Court's connivance assisted its growth. Though restricted to a few provinces and a small minority of people, it did sufficient damage directly and indirectly. The Chinese people paid heavily for the folly and madness of a few. The behaviour of some of the soldiers of foreign armies sent to China was no better than that of the Boxers, so that the innocent had to suffer twice. An enormous indemnity was exacted, 450,000,000 taels, which, with interest spread over 40 years, amounted to over 980,000,000 taels. Each Power and its nationals put in claims for whatever they thought fit with no one to check them. The American Government in 1908 remitted a portion of its share, a worthy example which other Powers are beginning to follow.

Extraterritoriality.

Before concluding this survey of the political aspect of China's foreign relations, a few words should be said as to the two principal and unique privileges enjoyed by foreigners in this country.

Whatever might be the origin of extraterritoriality in Mohammedan countries, in the case of China that privilege was not a voluntary grant or a result of custom. It was exacted from a China defeated in war and was based on the treaty stipulations. It means that the foreigner in China is not subject to the jurisdiction of her laws or her courts. In foreign countries such an exemption is accorded only to sovereigns and ambassadors, but in China every foreigner, be he a beachcomber or an habitual criminal, enjoys this royal and diplomatic treatment. The early traders said that they did not understand China's laws and that in any case these laws did not agree with their conception of justice. The Chinese retort was : " We did not ask you to accept things as you find them, those that you dislike as well as those you like ; why should we not try and punish you when you have violated our laws simply because you don't like them ? " This in substance is still the logic underlying China's demand for the abolition of the privilege, and it is further strengthened by the changes and reforms which have been introduced, during the last twenty years, into our judicial system.

Conventional Tariff.

The control over the customs tariff is important to a country for two principal reasons : as a source of revenue and as a means for regulation of the economic needs of the nation. In China, since the Manchu Government conceded the flat rate of 5 per cent tariff to one nation, a privilege which speedily accrued to others by virtue of the so-called " most favoured nation " clause in the treaties, China's revenue from this source has not been anything like what it should be. You, who come from a protectionist country, know that the customs duty may sometimes be as high as 300 or 400 per cent. Contrast it with China's nominal 5. I say nominal advisedly because, owing to the fact that the ad valorem duty was made specific and that at one time for 44 years the prices of the imported and exported goods were not revised although they had increased considerably, China was getting much less than even the paltry 5 per cent allowed her. But there is another consideration greater than that of revenue. Every import into China except half a dozen articles pays 5 per cent. Therefore, on the one hand things which China wants for her vital needs, and on the other hand things which are luxuries and which other countries tax heavily, e.g. tobacco, which Japan taxes 355 per cent, are all admitted here with the

same light duty. There may be a nascent industry which the nation should encourage, but it cannot protect it from foreign competition in its own home market, because of the light duty. At the same time, while China admits foreign goods on a bare 5 per cent duty, there is no similar obligation on foreign countries, who are at liberty to levy on Chinese products 50 per cent or 500 per cent as they may think fit. This is the meaning of unilateral treaties; all rights and benefits accrue to one party, all duties and obligations lie on the other party.

China A Sub-Colony.

With these two formidable privileges, extraterritoriality and conventional tariff, and some minor ones, inland navigation, banking, partial exemption from inland taxation, etc., which have been expressly stipulated in the treaties, or else claimed by foreigners as implied or corollary to treaty rights, or else based on custom and practice very often of doubtful validity, it is no wonder that we can scarcely call our country our own. Our great national leader, Dr. Sun Yat-sen, has pointed out to us that we are in a worse position than that of the colonies of European nations, say India or Annam. While they are subject to exploitation by the one sovereign Power, China is exploited by some sixteen Powers. Again, Britain and France, morally at least, owe certain duties to India and Annam, such as protection from enemies without, maintenance of order within, assistance in natural calamities, development of resources, education of the people, but the treaty Powers in China owe us no duties whatsoever. Just as in the legal aspect, so in the moral, the position is unilateral. Dr. Sun therefore says China is in the position of a sub-colony.

Self-Sufficiency.

Allow me now to sum up briefly the main characteristics of China's relations with the West. The first is our self-sufficiency. The early western trader objected to it most and called it conceit, ignorance, superciliousness, and what not. But when you come to think of it, it was a natural feeling. Here was a nation with a proud history dating back thousands of years. Its culture and civilization were immeasurably superior to those of all the countries surrounding it, who indeed looked upon it as their teacher. Even in the 13th century China was far ahead of Europe on the

road of human progress, so that when Marco Polo returned to tell Europeans of what he had seen in China, he was called a liar, so great was the disparity ; yet modern Europeans have reestablished his reputation for veracity. Pride in one's country and its achievements is not unnatural ; indeed what Englishman or American, for example, does not think in his heart of hearts that his country is a little better than any other ? And the Chinese of a century or two ago had more reason to think so. Then, too, the first specimens of western strangers they met were not such as to cause them to alter their opinion. Thus a moral Great Wall was built along the coast, which kept China aloof from the rest of the world and left her ignorant of the enormous strides in arts and sciences made by Europe in later years. This rampart was roughly battered down by cannon balls, and China had to suffer in the process. But who knows if this was not a blessing in disguise ? If China had been open to foreign exploitation one century earlier, can one say that by this time she would not have become another India ?

Tolerance.

That the Chinese were not so conceited as some think is shown by the tolerance which characterised their dealings with foreigners. Once convinced that the foreign article was good he was ready to adopt it, anything from religion to snuff. Look at the reception of Buddhism. And while the Inquisition flourished and intolerance stalked in Europe, Christian preachers were given every opportunity in China to propagate their doctrines. We have had no religious wars or persecutions. We have not been anti-foreign merely because of xenophobia. An anti-foreign nation would not have made a total stranger like Marco Polo governor of the rich city of Yangchow nor given important official posts to the early Jesuits. Where there had been so-called anti-foreign feeling, even in such a notorious case as that of the Boxers, there had been other reasons to which often the foreigner himself contributed not a little. Some may say that to-day there is anti-foreign feeling. But if you take the trouble to read up the events in which the foreigner has been involved during the last eighteen months, and put your nation in China's place, you will, I am sure, agree that the Chinese are the least anti-foreign and the most peace-loving people in the world.

Peace-Loving.

That leads me to the third characteristic in China's foreign relations. By character, the Chinese are peace-loving. There have been pugnacious periods in China's history, but they have been brief and, far from glorifying them, Chinese historians have condemned them. The expansion of China has been not so much a history of military conquest as of the influence of superior civilization on one side and the voluntary desire for admission into the empire on the other. Take for instance, the flight of an entire Tartar tribe, immortalized by De Quincey, from the banks of the Volga across the frozen north, harassed by wild animals and pursued by wilder tribes, simply to be subject to Chinese rule. There is again the instance of Nepal, the mountain home of the Gurkhas, than whom no better fighters are found anywhere, which continued to send tribute to China up to the first year of the Republic. Those who ascribe the pacific nature of the Chinese to lack of courage do not know us and can be disproved by a visit to any one of the battlefields at this very moment in many parts of China. The real reason is that for centuries, for millenniums, the teachings of our philosophers and our habits of thought have deprecated, and insisted on the futility of the use of force as the solution of a problem. I am afraid that experience with foreigners is causing some doubt whether the wise men of the past are entirely right. If the Chinese should ever become militaristic, it would not be good for themselves or the world, but it would not be entirely their own doing.

Two Alternatives.

The gist of the matter is that foreigners in China are in a privileged position which is extremely valuable to them from every point of view. To ask them to relinquish it is, as we Chinese say, asking the tiger for his skin. It is for their detached countrymen to envisage the situation in its true perspective. Shall a few anachronistic privileges which must in any case disappear soon, be clung to as long as possible even at the risk — indeed the certainty — of incurring the ill-will of the Chinese people, or shall their enjoyment for a few more months, at most a few more years, be immediately renounced in exchange for the goodwill of 400 millions, the greatest market of the future? These

are the alternatives before foreigners to-day in their relations with China : either a die-hard policy, bringing in its train consequences none can foretell ; or a statesmanlike policy, as magnanimous as it will in the long run prove profitable. The choice lies in their hands ; a decision must now be made. And in that decision are involved the future and happiness of a quarter of the population of the globe and perhaps as well, the future and happiness of all humanity.

Creating a Chinese Student Christian Movement

By T. L. SHEN

Since the eleventh conference of the World's Student Christian Federation was held in Peking, 1922, there has grown among Christian students of China a strong desire to cultivate and to express their corporate religious thought and life in a nation-wide fellowship known in other countries as the Student Christian Movement. That such a movement had already its foundation laid and its way paved through the work of the Y. M. C. A. and Y. W. C. A. is a fact too conspicuous to be overlooked. Taking advantage of that situation the Christian students passed a resolution in the conference that the two national agencies be requested each to appoint a Student Work Commission to study separately the question of how to reorganise their work on a basis that will further the development of such a movement. Subsequent recommendations from the Commissions and other student gatherings all conformed the desire to have a united movement which should provide for larger initiative and better articulation in the student field.

How the Commission was Planned.

Then came the Y. M. C. A. and S. V. M. Convention in 1926. The general topic "Student Movement" again became the theme of discussion in the student section of the convention. The progress then made was in the direction of putting more emphasis on the content of the movement instead of spending much time on the problem of machinery. As a result of careful deliberations, the student delegates were able to present before the whole conventions an organised and systematic outline of suggestions regarding the nature, purpose, and function of the movement. Alongside with that there was a definite recommendation to appoint five student delegates each from the Y. M. C. A. and from the S.V.M. to meet with five delegates appointed by the Y.W.C.A.

in a national student commission to be convened in the spring of 1927, to discuss problems concerning the organisation of a united movement.

This commission was unable to meet in April owing to disturbed conditions in the country. By majority, its meeting was finally postponed to the second week of July. Prior to the meeting, members of the commission were given ample chances to study questionnaire and reference material both individually and in groups particularly organised for that purpose. For instance, in Nanking the same group had met for more than five or six times. In that sense the commission meeting was quite representative of the ideas and convictions of the thinking Christian students of this generation.

An Epoch-Making Event.

Of the fifteen commission members only three failed to turn up. Those in attendance were fairly distributed, covering all important and strategic educational centres of the country. The meeting lasted for four full days, including evening sessions, in the hottest season of the year. It had two extra sessions after an excursion on the fifth day. It was fortunate enough to enjoy the hospitality of the Ginling College — a very beautiful and inspiring place for a gathering of this kind. Throughout, its sessions were permeated by a wonderful spirit of unity, one of searching for truth, and above all one of uplifting Christian fellowship. For that amount of joint thinking and united consecration for a Christian task and for that alone, this meeting not only proved justifiable but also unique in the epoch-making history of the student Christian movement of China.

For almost a decade Christian students have been persecuted from all sides by the anti-Christian forces, whose criticisms were based either on narrow nationalism or on sheer materialism. On the other hand, they have looked in vain for any adequate amount of inspiration and help from the church and its affiliated movements such as the Y. M. C. A. and Y. W. C. A. Recent occurrences, however, have indicated developments in the nationalist movement, which is gradually taking on a broader and more liberal attitude towards religious freedom. Yet there has already been in steady progress a process of disintegration in Christian work, leaving Christian students in a more and more lonely and helpless situation. With this background in view, the leaders among Christian students have become more conscious of their

own initiative and responsibility. In other words, theirs has proved to be a task of creation and of adventure which must be discharged directly by themselves. This note was struck over and over again, and it represented the brightest spot of the entire conference.

The Task Before the Christian Student.

Although representing various organisations, the delegates, as soon as they were assembled, at once sank their representative basis to the background. As Christian students they all conceived of their mission as one to face the great common problem of the Student Christian movement. So, instead of first tackling the problem of how to unite the existing parts and studying what kind of a resultant movement will then emerge, they began with what is the need for and place of an ideal movement and then examined the present channels with whatever necessary adjustments in the light of that ideal. To an ordinary observer, without having gone through its sessions, there will naturally be a prevailing doubt about the theoretical nature of the conference or a feeling that it has not taken into sufficient consideration many practical data near at hand. But these students are just as idealistic as the rest of the youth of this generation, and besides being analytical and critical they are not without constructive ideas which really constitute the bulk of their conference deliberations.

The first two days of the conference were spent in discovering the philosophy of the student movement, that is, the actual need for such a movement and its unique place in the national and student life of China. Under that general topic they first took up reports from various centres regarding conditions and needs among students and also those of the Christian church. Expressions were made of the most candid and frank nature. From them the urgency and imperativeness of a fresh revival of Christian students was clearly revealed. Then the members were asked each to express their inner religious conviction and experience which should constitute the rock foundation of the movement. Through this mutual exchange of fundamental ideas they found among them a common starting point with a common motive behind it. In short, this is a personal belief in Jesus Christ and His conception of God as our Father, renewed and intensified through a vivid and sensitive feeling of Christian responsibility for the great social task of this modern world.

A Spiritual Message to Nationalist China.

Then they went on to discuss the place of the movement in national and student life. They were one-minded in the conviction that this movement should serve as the basis of fellowship of the corporate religious thought and life of Christian students of China. Through this fellowship they think they should be able to stand for a spiritual message in the midst of the nationalist movement. They should emphasize the spirit of Christian service in public enterprises. They should champion the task of ministering to the actual needs of the masses of people. They should help fellow students in their search for truth and in their discovery of a genuine philosophy of life. They should set exemplary standards of moral conduct, both in individual and in collective life. And finally they should assist in bringing about reforms in the church so that it will truly represent real and vital Christian fellowship. In summarizing these points, they feel that they will in course of time realize a movement with some definite and distinctive contributions to make.

After having talked about the philosophy of the movement, they spent another half-day in making a new statement of their purpose. They first picked out a few factors that must be included and then worked them into one statement. The general idea is that the purpose of the Student Christian Movement is to unite students in Christian fellowship, to develop their Christian character and to carry out the revolutionary programme of Jesus Christ. This is in no sense an orthodox statement, but fortunately the Christian students of China as represented in the conference are not following ready-cut standards and traditions.

Programme and Organisation of the Movement.

The next topic is the programme of the movement. It was divided into two parts, one pertaining to inside and the other to outside work. Inside work consists of spiritual discipline such as devotion, worship and practice in a pure and simple life, and of intellectual training such as group study, lecture and individual reading. Outside work consists of publicity, such as issuing periodicals, distributing literature and giving lectures; and of popular service such as education for illiterates, citizenship training, and industrial and rural work. While maintaining that a balanced and all-round programme is still valuable, they

considered spiritual discipline as always the prerequisite to all other phases of the programme.

Then the question of organization finally came up. First of all they did not think of a big and comprehensive machinery. In order to put the movement on a solid basis they decided that it must have its fundamental units in the form of vital small groups. A number of those groups would naturally be linked up in a school or a city union as the situation may require. Then there should be district federations and a national movement. These later stages of organization should follow a gradual process of evolution. And the important preliminary step should always be the strengthening of the constituent small groups.

While on organization the commission held a session on the discussion of the principles governing the foundation of small groups. They laid down ten points, among which the essential ones are as follows. First, fellowship groups must consist of people who have the same purpose and are willing actively to promote the aims of the movement. Second, fellowship groups must take college students as their nuclei members, while ex-students and students below college grade may also be admitted. Thirdly, in order to insure vitality, fellowship groups must have five to twenty members as their limit. They also recommended that a pamphlet be prepared containing suggestions for the formation of fellowship groups.

Relationship with Older Organisations.

It is much regretted that the commission did not have sufficient time to go over the problems of relationship that the new movement will have with the existing organizations. Of course there are several reasons for this. First, these students do not consider relationship as so important a topic as the clarification of their own minds regarding the ideals of a new movement. Second, they are not thinking in terms of a top heavy machinery that will involve many complicated problems of relationship. Thirdly, problems of relationship in a local student field are not worthy of the same serious consideration as those in the national sphere, which are due to the existence of highly organized national agencies. Lastly, students are not sufficiently acquainted with the historical and traditional background to speak on problems of relationship. In addition to these limitations, they also entertain much fear and bewilderment regarding the attitude of the general movement toward this

raising student consciousness and the practicability of effecting a closer co-operation among the general agencies.

However, they did succeed in reaching some definite conclusions about relationship. In the local field they do not want to have the old organizations altogether abolished. On the contrary, they want to have the live ones strengthened and made a part of the movement. In all cases they expect student Christian forces to be vitalized and re-charged with a real Christian fellowship and purpose. In that direction there will naturally emerge a spontaneous new movement with a distinctively new student consciousness. In the national sphere they hope to capitalize a stronger feeling of unity among Christian students, especially at this opportune hour. Realising that what they strive for is to fulfil and not to destroy the ideals of the parent organizations, they rightly conceived of their own efforts as a reinforcement of the united objective of the three organizations. So they felt confident that there will be continued guidance and encouragement both in thought and in programme.

As a practical working step the commission has taken the liberty to organize itself into a sort of preparatory committee for the twofold task of continued study of the problems of the movement and the promotion of its new ideals. This committee will remain independent of the three agencies and will be ready to serve as a correlating group before any formal agency is finally brought into existence. The committee will first make a report, together with recommendations to the three agencies raising practical questions of co-operation. In order to do its regular work the committee has an executive committee of eight persons, who in turn are divided into three departments; namely, general administration, publicity, and technical organization. But all these are considered only as temporary and provisional arrangements. For a definite scheme of organization it was recommended that a national conference of Christian students be called at the time of the next Y.M.C.A. convention to make further study and recommendations.

Tasks of the Moment.

The following immediate things will be undertaken by the committee. First the production of literature. This consists of a special bulletin on the commission meeting, a pamphlet on the small group idea, outlines of study on the problems of the movement, and a proposed literary organ of the movement.

Second is the promotion of small groups through visitation of secretaries and student leaders, personal correspondence and conference. The third item is student retreats for the purpose of cultivating the religious life and of getting a clearer vision of the student movement.

The foregoing is an attempted survey of the trends and results of the Nanking meeting. Without firsthand knowledge a bare reading of this article will inevitably prove misleading. For the unique feature of this conference lies in the spirit which prevailed rather than in its incidental achievements. Even those results that have been most carefully recorded may not be necessarily abiding. For they all have to depend on personalities that will follow them up. But one fact remains and will remain. That is, the Student Christian consciousness is gradually gaining ground and is now reaching a place where it demands a fuller expression of corporate religious thought and life in a nation-wide fellowship. Those who believe in the same cause should rejoice in its recent development, and should render their assistance without reserve to the building up of this new movement.

A Christian Mission to Buddhists

By NOTTO NORMAN THELLE.

Note. The following article, supplied by the Norwegian Student Christian Movement, gives an account of an interesting attempt made by a Norwegian missionary to find a method of presenting Christianity to the more orthodox amongst Chinese Buddhists and Taoists in such a way that what is most valuable and profound in their own faith and tradition may be preserved, while at the same time nothing is sacrificed of the essence and unique quality of the Christian message.

Five years have now passed since this mission was opened in Nanking. The mission is intended as a Christian approach to Buddhists and Taoists of all classes as well as to the lay members of the many religious societies, with a view to winning them for the Kingdom of God. Its aim is to lead these people to a living faith in Jesus Christ. We wish to give them an opportunity of hearing the Gospel in such a way that they may see in Christ the Perfect Revealer of God, the World Saviour in whom their highest ideals and aspirations find their complete fulfilment, and through whom they may attain to the "glorious liberty of the children of God."

How the Mission was Started.

The Reverend K.L. Reichelt, for many years a missionary in Central China and a great scholar of Chinese Buddhism, had long felt a special call from God to begin work among the specifically religious groups in China. This he was finally able to do in the autumn of 1922. Originally we had only a very small semi-foreign house, but after half a year we moved over to our present quarters near Feng-Ruen-Meng. After some months a small boys' school was opened, and a number of boys, mostly Buddhist or Taoist novices, were entrusted to our care. A small pilgrims' hall was also opened. Later a beautifully situated site on the hill-side outside one of the north gates was secured. Here we hope to build our real institute, but up to the present we have not had the necessary funds for this. The buildings which we hope to

put up some time in the future will include educational and industrial departments, a hall of hospitality for visiting monks, and a lecture room, as well as a church. The architecture will correspond, as far as possible, to that of a Buddhist monastery.

It is an unfortunate fact that the Buddhists and Taoists are not reached through ordinary missionary work. There are several reasons for this. To begin with, they themselves find a difficulty in going to the churches; their customs and modes of thinking are different from those of the ordinary Chinese; they wear their special garments and live their separate lives in the temples and monasteries. On the other hand, the frequently unsympathetic attitude of Christians towards people of another faith has also proved a great hindrance. Let me give one example of this. A young man from one of the monasteries here in the city one day made up his mind to buy a Bible. Buddhism had given him much, but he did not feel satisfied; he had not found a satisfactory reply to some of his most urgent questions. He bought the Bible and also went to one of the street chapels. The preacher, however, poured forth a stream of spiteful attack on Buddhism, so that, in spite of the good and true points of his sermon, he quite naturally closed the heart of his hearer to his message. The monk left disappointed. The great question then with which we are faced is this: How can these people be won for the Kingdom of God? How can we help them to find Christ?

A Resting-Place for Pilgrims.

Among the Buddhists and Taoists one means of acquiring merit is to go on pilgrimages to the holy mountains and famous temples scattered throughout the country. Usually they then stay for a shorter or longer period in the monasteries. They take part in the worship or they listen to some revered master explaining the scriptures. In the temples which they pass they may put up for the night or rest for some days in the pilgrims' hall. And it is here that we try to get in with our special missionary work. In our small institute near Feng Ruen Meng we too have a pilgrims' hall in which the monks can put up for some days. It is arranged in similar fashion to that of the monasteries, with two long platforms where the visitors can spread out their bedding, and above these, shelves on which they can place their things. Between the two platforms there is an altar with an incense-burner and two candle-sticks, and over all a crucifix. Along the sides of the hall are to be seen appropriate quotations

from Scripture, such as : " God so loved the world, that he gave his only begotten son.... " and " Come unto me, all ye that labour and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest. "

When the visitors arrive they are first received in the reception-room and then led into this hall. Here they have an opportunity to study Christianity, special hours being daily set aside for Bible-study, explanation and meditation. Twice a day, in the morning and evening, they also take part in the worship in the chapel. A Chinese bell with deep tones is sounded to call the worshippers together. A suitable altar, in the true Chinese style, has been arranged in the chapel. It is made of red lacquer finished and adorned with golden symbols — the sun of righteousness, the monogram of Christ in Greek, the lotus lily symbolising purity, the fire and the water of the cleaning Spirit, the swastika of peace and cosmic union, and lastly the special symbol of the mission, the cross on the lotus flower, — the best and noblest in other faiths finding its complete fulfilment in the cross, the blessed symbol of our crucified and living Saviour, Jesus Christ. On the altar stands a beautiful statue of Christ. As a symbol of prayer rises the smoke and fragrance of the incense from the burner in the centre of the altar. The other ornaments are also chosen to form a suitable and indigenous setting to the whole. The baptised brethren all wear a black gown with the silver cross on the lotus blossom. A small gong is struck to call them to silent prayer.

Spirit and Form in Worship.

The whole arrangement is intended to induce in the worshippers a true and reverent spirit of worship. The candles and incense are in no way to be regarded as offerings, but merely as symbols, as to the use of which some allusions are to be found in the Book of Revelations. We are fully aware that these external things are nothing in themselves, but believing that they can serve as a means to help these particular people to raise their thoughts and minds to a higher level, we thank God for them and use them in His name. Of course the symbols and forms adopted must always be in perfect harmony with the Christian doctrine, and it must always be remembered that the forms are secondary, and that the first and most important thing is life. The forms must be filled with life or they will be useless. What I think the Chinese themselves, with their sense of " li " (ceremony, propriety) feel when they come to such a place is that

it is not just a common place ; that it is really a place of worship. It thus makes a strong appeal to the heart of the Chinese.

In preaching, too, an effort is always made to remain in harmony with the above mentioned principles. Knowing that Christ did not come to destroy, but to fulfil, we endeavour to find the " altar of an unknown God," and to build on that. In this way positive Christianity with its message of sin and salvation may be brought home to them. What we want is to give them the whole Christ. Those who come to visit us will, however, always be met in a friendly spirit with an open mind and an understanding and tolerance grounded in the conviction that what is good, noble and true cannot possibly come from Satan out of darkness, but from God through His Logos, the eternal source of light and life and truth.

Those who Come to the Mission.

Since the first monk paid us a visit a few days after our arrival, thousands of monks have come into contact with the institution, approximately 1,000 a year. From all over China, even from the most distant provinces, the travelling monks come to us. Sometimes they have heard about the work far away in the interior, and on their journey down towards the coast have resolved to visit the " Christian monastery. " They may stay for three days, but a religiously earnest visitor who really wishes to study, may be invited to remain longer. And it is not only the travelling monks who come, but also the pilgrims. We have contacts too with the monasteries and temples in the city, and many of their monks come to visit us and take part in our worship, especially on Sunday morning. They usually then also share with us our vegetarian meals.

It is difficult to say what may be the effect on a monk of a few days' stay. Some time ago, an evangelist from the North came to visit us, and told us of a monk who had been down to Nanking and had also stayed here for some days. Formerly he had been very antagonistic to Christianity, but when he returned his attitude had entirely changed. The great spiritual value of such Christian influence is evident. To many, a perfectly new world has been opened, and unmeasurable benefits have been received. In the country around, in some out-of-the-way temple or lonely cell in the monastery, some solitary monk may be found studying his New Testament or meditating upon what he heard and saw in the Christian Institute at Nanking. Many desire to

stay for instruction; the need for two to three months' courses is particularly felt. Many young monks have asked if they may come to us. Greater results might be attained if they could remain for a longer period under Christian influence, but up to the present we have had neither funds nor rooms for such courses. Since the work was started seventeen men, three women and three children have been received into the Church through baptism.

The Mission and the Church.

It should be made clear that it is not the intention of the mission to begin something new and apart from the Church, but rather to serve the Church and the missions. There is no thought of establishing any monastic order of a celibate character. The brethren are allowed full liberty to serve God by returning to lay-life or by joining other churches. They may retain their connection with the Brotherhood and are welcome in its gatherings as long as they lead a Christian life. For those who decide to join the Church, special classes are held to give them thorough instruction before they receive baptism. Ecclesiastically, the mission is linked up with the Lutheran Churches in Scandinavia through special groups in Denmark and Norway and the Church Mission in Sweden. Help has, however, also been received from persons of other denominations and countries.

For years Li Taosi had been travelling from Annam to Mongolia, from the borders of Tibet to the coast, visiting all the holy places, seeking eternal life when he died. About four years ago he was passing Nanking on his way to Kuanyin's holy island, P'u-T'o. The steamer he was planning to take was, however, delayed, and he determined to walk to Shanghai. He started on his way, but when he arrived outside Shun-tseh-meng the sun was setting, and he had to seek shelter for the night. Thus it happened that he entered a small temple where Ma Taosi lived. This priest had often attended our services, and spoke to Li of the Christians who had opened a special place to receive monks, and advised him to make a visit there before he left for Shanghai. Li's answer is significant. "Well," said Li, "I have been travelling for many years, but I have never heard that the Christians have done anything for us monks. I must go and see."

So he came. And he found what he had been seeking for so long, eternal life in Christ Jesus, who is the Way, the Truth and the Life.

Australia and the Pacific

By H. DUNCAN HALL.¹

Australia must be to many of you as it was to the ancient geographers, "Terra Australis incognita," and I must draw your attention to one or two outstanding facts to serve as a background for our discussion.

Australia looms larger on the frontiers of America's future than most Americans realize. The two countries are linked indissolubly by their immigration policies. Changes in America's immigration policy vitally affect Australia, as witness the immediate diversion to Australia of a portion of the immigrant stream from Southern Europe shut out by the American quota system. As a member of the British Commonwealth, Australia plays a part in the shaping of the common policy far greater than her present power and population would warrant. She exercised a most important influence over the decision to build a great naval base at Singapore. By strongly influencing the policy of Great Britain in the direction of imperial preference she may modify the economic policies of the British Empire. Her part in the great war was no small one. From a population less than that of greater New York she lost more men than were lost by the whole American army. As regards trade, Australia is becoming of considerable importance. Her external trade per head of population is nearly three times that of the United States. From the point of view of trade per head, one Australian is worth to British export trade at least a dozen Americans. The importance of the factor of distance becomes clear if you remember that from Perth to Adelaide — little more than half way across the continent — is as far as from London to Constantinople.

The Australian Economic Ideal.

Australia's interest in the Pacific is determined largely by her population problem. Geographically an appendage of Asia, Australia was shielded from Asiatic settlement by her barren

¹ This article is the reproduction of an address delivered at the Institute of Politics, Williamstown University, Massachusetts, U.S.A.

north and west coast, and the way was left open to her undisturbed colonization by the British. Her population is now over ninety-nine per cent British in stock. Early in her history she deliberately took the momentous decision that she would not be a country of cheap labour exploited by a rich white obligarchy. Her people aimed rather at building a real democracy, where the masses of the people had high standards of living, and where there were no extreme divisions of classes. Her immigration policy is the direct outcome of this deliberate choice. One of the first things done by the Australian Commonwealth on its foundation in 1901 was to supersede the local state acts by a federal immigration act, which in essentials remains unchanged to this day. The act was a general immigration act, and was not discriminatory in form. Parliament carefully refrained from making any reference to race or nationality. But one of the main purposes of the act was to exclude Asiatic labourers. This was done by means of a dictation test, which is used by the customs officials, who administer it, to exclude those whose entry is not desired. As originally worded, the act provided that the test should be in "any European language," but in deference to the protest of Japan this was altered to "any prescribed language." By means of Gentlemen's agreements made by the Australian government with the governments of Japan and India in 1904 (and subsequently with most other Asiatic governments), merchants, students and tourists from these countries are admitted to Australia under certain specified conditions. Asiatics belonging to these classes can enter Australia on passports issued by their respective governments, and are not subject to the dictation test. These agreements have worked to the satisfaction of all parties concerned. It should be noted that the agreements imply the acquiescence by the governments concerned in the application of the dictation test to all nationals not included in the exempted classes.

Race Discrimination and Gentlemen's Agreements.

The only other important modification of the act was made in 1925. There is no precedent for the wholesale application of the dictation test to Europeans. Hence, to meet the difficulty caused by the sudden influx of Southern European immigrants whose lower economic standards appeared to threaten Australian standards of living, a new clause was introduced into the principal act. For the first time "race" was mentioned as a possible basis of exclusion, a change of policy which was made without

adequate discussion and is regretted by some Australians. The Governor General was empowered to prohibit by proclamation the landing of "aliens of any specified nationality, race, class, or occupation," either "on account of the economic, industrial, or other conditions existing in the Commonwealth," or because such aliens were "deemed unlikely to become readily assimilated." The clause has not been put into effect, and is not likely to be, since the difficulty appears to have been overcome by arrangements with the governments concerned. Arrangements, which are essentially gentlemen's agreements, have been made from 1923 onwards with Italy, Malta, Greece, Jugo-Slavia, and Albania, whereby immigration from these countries to Australia is restricted, in some cases by direct numerical limitations, in others by the restriction by the government concerned of the issuance of passports to immigrants possessing capital or other qualifications. Like the Asiatic gentlemen's agreements, these arrangements are working satisfactorily. It is interesting to notice that while America has repudiated her gentlemen's agreement with Japan, Australia has a whole series of such agreements — some dating as far back as 1904 — which play an important part in her immigration policy.

On the whole, the Immigration Act has worked smoothly. It has accomplished its objects without causing friction or any serious ill feeling. There has been an almost complete absence of any "incidents," especially with regard to Japanese, who have been treated with uniform courtesy and consideration. The dictation test is not administered frequently. This is largely due to the knowledge of the existence of the test. It is due also to the refusal by governments to issue passports, and by steamship companies to issue tickets, to persons likely to be excluded.

The Fundamental Conflict.

The immigration policy of Australia is merely a part of the world's complex of immigration policies and legislation. It illustrates the fundamental conflict of rights which runs through this problem — a conflict which is at the essence of tragedy as Shakespeare understood it. On the one hand there is the universally recognized sovereign legal right of a country to control the composition of its population. On the other hand is the vague, undefined, and not universally recognized human "right" of individuals and peoples to relative equality of opportunity. On the one side is the cry "All men are brothers."

"Hath not a Jew eyes. Hath not a Jew hands, organs, senses, dimensions, affections, passions." On the other side is the reply of the immigrant receiving countries. "If," they say, "The immigration of certain classes or races causes friction, economic or otherwise, between the immigrants and the peoples who receive them, and therefore between their mother land and the country of their adoption — then exclusion is to the interest of all concerned."

But though nations possess sovereign powers with regard to such matters as immigration and the treatment of aliens, the well-being of international society depends upon the consideration and discretion with which these powers are exercised. As Mr Hughes said before the Canadian Bar Association in discussing matters of domestic jurisdiction, "The principle each nation for itself to the full extent of its powers is the principle of war, not of peace." The attitude of Australia to resident aliens shows some recognition of this point of view.

Efforts at Adjustment.

It may be noted that in the last few years practically all the few important remaining discriminations against resident Asiatic aliens have been swept away. Australia has now applied for and has been granted certificates of nationality to the British Indian Commonwealth has just extended the franchise to British Indians domiciled in Australia. This development, (and other concessions given to British Indians already domiciled in Australia) is due to discussions between India and the Dominions which have taken place, and resolutions which have been passed, at the last four meetings of the Imperial Conference. The experience of the British Commonwealth indicates that useful progress forwards the removal of needless irritants caused by discriminatory legislations and policy can be made by the method of international conference.

In the past, serious misunderstanding of the nature of the economic environment of Australia has led to a misjudgment of her policy. She has been regarded as an enormously wealthy and over-populated country, selfishly excluding other nations from her riches. The adoption of a policy of immigration has disproved this thesis. Australia is actually a poor country. Leading geographers, both Australian and American, are agreed that she possesses the second largest desert area in the world and that the proportion of country suitable for close white settlement is small. According to the estimate of Professor Griffith Taylor

only about twenty-one per cent of the whole area is suitable for this purpose. It has been only after a strenuous fight with an unfavourable environment, and by devising an elaborate new agricultural technique, that the Australian farmer has been able to make the agricultural resources of Australia available to the world.

Australia and Japan.

For twenty years Japan has been a sinister cloud darkening Australia's horizon. Fear of a Japanese attack on her policy forced Australian military and naval development before the war. During the war the relations of the two countries were to an astonishing degree the sport of "rumour painted full of tongues." Japan's emphasis upon racial equality at the Peace Conference, and her amendments to the Geneva Protocol increased Australia's apprehension.

But in the last few months a subtle change in attitude has begun to show itself. The Australian public is slowly beginning to realize that the facts do not really justify their fears. The White Australia policy has almost completely filled their own world horizon: they now begin to see that it has never occupied more than an obscure corner in Japan's horizon. They are also beginning to understand the far-reaching nature of the changes toward liberalism in Japanese policy and outlook which have taken place in the last few years. Most important of all, they are beginning to realize how much the economic and military strength of Japan has been exaggerated. They are beginning to understand the meaning of distance in naval strategy. The elementary fact that Japan does not even possess the maritime transport necessary for a serious invasion of a distant country is becoming apparent. Rumour and error which have beset a whole people die slowly. Some fear will remain in some minds and may break out again in newspaper discussions, but a change has begun. The discussions which have taken place in America, especially at the Institute of Politics, have indicated the great weakness of Japan in the raw materials and resources vital to the waging of any protracted large scale war. Since my arrival here I have learned that these discussions have profoundly modified any apprehensions which American military experts might have had with regard to Japan. This is a fact which is of the utmost importance in the international situation in the Pacific.

It is much the most important fact which I have learned since my arrival in America.

It should be noted that the Australian government and its advisers are beginning to realize the importance of these new factors, and are ceasing to view with serious apprehension Australia's future relations with Japan. Already one can hope that this part of our history — in the words of Browning — is but an

“ugly cloud, goblin-shred,
Of Hell-smoke hurrying past the splendid moon
Out now to tolerate no darkness more.”

Australia and America.

Australia and America have much in common. Both are frontier peoples just emerging from the conquest of difficult new environments. With both, immigration is the fundamental national policy. Modifications of the immigration policy of one country may seriously affect the other. The Japanese exclusion clause in the American Act created dismay amongst thoughtful Australians. They saw in this a quite unnecessary affront to Japan, which would weaken America's policy and leave it open to serious attack. The kinship and common interests of the two countries has led Australians to rely increasingly upon American support for their national policies. “We may be the frontiersmen” runs a fairly typical editorial, “but the Americans are behind us as defenders of the white race.” With the changing attitude of the Australian people and their growing appreciation of the real facts, the danger that Australia through panic fear of Japan might become the spear head of the white race in a colour war in the Pacific, is becoming remote.

But there are certain difficulties in the relations of the two peoples which must be faced frankly. The reasons for the late entry of America into the war have not been fully understood in Australia. The attitude of America to the League of Nations, of which Australia is a loyal member, has created a slight undercurrent of irritation. There is a similar undercurrent with regard to the British debt settlement. Its legality is not questioned, and the wisdom of Britain in meeting her legal obligations is fully accepted, but in the light of all the facts there is some doubt as to the ultimate equity of the settlement. The tendency of Americans to adopt a strictly legalistic interpretation of Dominion status, and to ignore the profound modifications which the

growth of constitutional conventions has caused in the British Commonwealth since the war, has created some disturbance in the minds of Australians. Nationhood is a real thing to them and a necessary stage in their development. That they should emphasize it at a time when nationalism is being criticised as a sort of disease, an aspect of Vanity Fair, need not excite comment — especially in America. The way to the Celestial City lay through Vanity Fair, and the streets which one must pass through have such names as "Britain Booth", and "France Booth", and, says Bunyan, "He who would not pass through these streets must needs pass out of life."

South America's Pacific Problem

By JOHN MACKAY.

"El problema del pacifico," "the Pacific problem," is one of the phrases most charged with significance in the present-day life of South America. The average educated South American, when he is asked to name but one thing: the problem relating to the ownership of Tacna and Arica, two provinces of the Pacific Coast. These provinces are the Alsace Lorraine of the New World. They constitute the same problem in Peruvian-Chilian relationships that the famous Rhine provinces did in the relations between France and Germany; and the dispute regarding them has become as real a danger to American peace as was the unhealed wound of French patriotism to the peace of Europe before the war. The mutual agreement of Chile and Peru to submit their quarrel to the arbitration of the United States' President, and the hitherto abortive efforts of the latter to find a satisfactory solution, have given the existence and implications of the problem world publicity. As the affair is destined, sooner or later, to stir public opinion in South America to fever heat and threaten continental peace, I should like to provide readers of the *Student World* with a very brief and simple account of the origin, history and present state of this problem.

How the Dispute Began.

The Peruvian-Chilian war, which raged from 1878 to 1882, resulted in the decisive defeat of Peru, and was brought to a formal end by the Treaty of Ancon. One of the clauses of this treaty stipulated that Tacna and Arica, two of the southernmost provinces of Peru, should pass under the suzerainty of Chile for the space of ten years. At the close of this period the inhabitants should decide by means of a plebiscite whether they desired to continue under the Chilean flag or be reincorporated into Peru. The country in whose favour the plebiscite was decided should pay to the other the sum of ten million Peruvian soles, which, at par, is equivalent to one million pounds sterling.

The ten years passed, but in spite of frequent negotiations

regarding the taking of a plebiscite, a satisfactory agreement was never reached in regard to the conditions under which the will of the people should be ascertained. And so the years drifted on without a settlement being reached, while each passing year deepened more and more the abyss of hate that divided two sister nations. Historically united in the great epic in which Chilean soldiers fought under the banner of the Argentine General San Martin, to free Peru from the Spanish yoke, economically interdependent, and possessing mutually complementary traits, Chileans and Peruvians became irreconcilable enemies. Their reciprocal hate has cost them dear. If it is true that the exploitation of the rich nitrate deposits of Tacna and Tarapaca enriched Chile, providing her chief source of public income, the latter was compelled nevertheless to become a military country. She was forced to maintain a large navy, and she brought gradually into existence the most efficient fighting machine in South America. In spite of the fact that on one of the high passes of the Andes, at the foot of the eternal snows, stands a statue of the Christ erected by Chileans and Argentines as a pledge of everlasting peace between their two countries, Chile yet feels herself obliged to devote the chief part of her national wealth to the maintenance of huge military and naval forces. Why? Because the fires of revenge are burning, and the forces of Mars have been mustering for many years across her Northern frontier.

Peru, on her part, has symbolised her undying claim to the lost provinces of Tacna and Arica, by having the province of Tacana represented in the National Congress by a senator and a deputy. Her national heroes are men who fought in the Chilean war. Hate towards Chile is infused into the heart of every school-boy or schoolgirl; and the nation's chief ambition is that the Peruvian flag should again wave on the historic "Morro," a fortified rock overlooking the port of Arica.

The Plebiscite Suggestion.

How does the matter stand at present? Some years ago it was agreed to submit the problem to the arbitration of President Harding. Harding died shortly afterwards, and President Coolidge became the arbitrator. The arbitrator proposed that the long postponed plebiscite should be held under the supervision of a special commission, representing both countries, to be presided over by a North American chairman, appointed by him. This commission should have the assistance of a body of North American experts.

Peru at first demurred, on the entirely reasonable ground that during the intervening years since the Treaty of Ancon, Chile had followed a policy of Chilianization, expelling Peruvian citizens on different occasions from the disputed provinces; but in the end she consented to the plebiscite being held. General Pershing was appointed chairman of the Plebiscite Commission. Several months later he resigned, and General Lassiter took his place. For the space of twelve months, the period during which the Plebiscite Commission functioned, Tacna and Arica were the scene of interminable scandals. It would be too distressing to relate all that took place, and it would be difficult to do so impartially. Let it suffice to say that the representatives of the Arbitrator came to the conclusion that a fair plebiscite was an impossibility and recommended its abandonment. Chile was publicly accused of having deliberately created such conditions in the plebiscite area as were a constant danger to the lives of Peruvian voters.

Is There A Solution ?

Fortunately the solution is still in the hands of the Arbitrator, who continues to search for a conciliatory formula. On the other hand, the whole problem has been further complicated by the demand of Bolivia that the eventual solution, whatever it be, shall make provision for conceding to her a free exit to the ocean. This inland country has just contracted the services of a military mission from the free city of Danzig, to undertake the reorganization of her army. No one can tell what the future has in store. It is abundantly plain, however, that the uncompromising attitude of both Chile and Peru will render a peaceful solution of the problem exceedingly difficult. Both countries, let it be said, are ruled by dictators of the most chauvinistic type. The problem seems to have entered a *cul de sac*; and what makes the situation most pathetic of all is that while the provinces in dispute now possess little real value, many times their value has been spent and continues to be spent in litigation. No case of arbitration in history has been so costly. While a whole continent is kept in a state of nervous tension, and synthetic nitrate has produced a slump in the value of the Tacna deposits, both Chile and Peru have to pay huge quarterly sums for the arbitration process to continue. Could there possibly be a more patent proof of the fact that the blind insistence on rights that do not vitally affect either national welfare or honour is often suicidal? When

will nations realize that there are occasions when it is in their highest interests to "take wrong and allow themselves to be defrauded," so long as they are left in full possession of their sovereignty and their souls?

Where Hope Lies.

There is but one really consoling feature in this whole situation as one looks towards the future. It is that a large number of the new generation of university students, both in Chile and Peru, are resolved that the bitter animosity that has incapacitated their fathers and their grandfathers for finding a reasonable and just solution of their territorial problem shall be eternally buried. They approach the problem without rancour in their hearts and with the fixed purpose that the frontier line between the respective countries shall be adjusted in accordance with the principles of true justice and brotherhood. If the old quarrel does not precipitate an armed conflict, producing a continental conflagration, before these young men come into power, there is good hope that it will be amicably settled when they do.

Book Reviews

Our Far-Eastern Assignment, by Felix MORLEY.

Association Press, 347 Madison Avenue, New York, 1926,
p. 185.

Every reader of this book will gladly endorse the Hon. Henry Morgenthau's testimony in the introduction, that Mr. Morley "shows wonderful powers of penetration and has adopted a judicial manner in impartially appraising the various conflicting influences that are at work in Japan, China and the Philippines."

The chapters on Japan convincingly dispel the spectre of the "Yellow Peril," armed to the teeth and menacing with mailed fist the West. We are introduced to a people living in a country full of surface loveliness, yet liable at any moment to be shattered by earthquake, volcano, flood or typhoon, a people therefore "more children than men, more prone to enjoy their circumstances than to alter them." We are reminded that if Japan has indeed marvellously imitated the West, "facility in imitation itself indicates a lack of the originaive qualities which alone make nations truly and enduringly great." We are shown how in her few attempts at aggressive militarism Japan proved herself crude and lacking in foresight. Most important of all is the evidence of renunciation, since the Washington conference, of all such aggressiveness in favour of international co-operation and a definite liberalisation of attitude, both toward the West and toward China.

The enormous task of Japan, in substituting for a feudal society a modern industrial democracy, is sympathetically portrayed in the chapters on the Advent of Democracy and The Japanese Labour Party.

Turning to China, we find an admirable exposé of the events and the forces that caused the Revolution of 1911 and have led on to the present troubled state of the country. Mr. Morley sees the main issue as centralisation versus provincial government. The "Christian General" Feng, with his army of Cromwellian Ironsides, is most sympathetically presented as a

noble and disinterested protagonist of those provincial rights which best embody the Chinese political genius. The contrast between the American and the British reaction to this issue is illuminating. "The English in China," writes Mr. Morley, "can see nothing in the suggestion that there may be a rough political parallelism between the distrust of central control in China and that exhibited toward our federal government by the sovereign states in the anarchic period following the achievement of American independence. They regard the collapse of central government as the most significant factor in the situation. To many Americans there is more meaning in the continuance of orderly local life, in all districts where war or banditry is not actually raging, in spite of the complete inability of central authority to enforce security."

Remarkable illustrations of such continuance of orderly life are given from the worlds of commerce, labour and education. One instance must suffice, viz. that "in not a single year of the protracted political disorder has any province failed to send its delegates to the conferences of the National Federation of Provincial Education Associations."

The shameful part played by the greedy Western powers, particularly in Shanghai, is set forth plainly, and Mr. Morley has no mind to spare his own country's "fairly consistent policy of getting as much out of China as Great Britain, while letting that nation bear the onus for methods employed."

In the last three chapters, which deal with the Philippines, Mr. Morley is fully as frank in criticising America's colonial policy. Whoever reads them will retain some unforgettable pictures of the Filipino people, "who, whatever their shortcomings, are gentle, kindly, and lovable beyond most in this world." One that stands out most vividly to me is the "National Prayer Day," organised on Washington's Birthday two years ago, when the people over all the islands gathered round their clergy, Catholic and Protestant, to pray for separation from the United States. A paragraph from the prayer ran:

"We entreat Thee, O most Gracious Father, stay Thou the hand that would smite our liberties. Send forth Thy Spirit unto our rulers across the sea and so touch their hearts and quicken their sense of justice that they may in honour keep their plighted word to us. Let not the covetous designs of a few interests prevail in the counsels of the sovereign nation nor sway its noble purposes toward our country."

The other most impressive picture of the Philippines is the

elaborate, nation-wide organisation built up in order to mobilise public opinion on behalf of complete self-government. Of this organisation the most remarkable part is the section which constitutes as it were an unofficial government, with sub-sections corresponding to ministries or government departments. These are not only working out policies for submission to the official Philippine legislature, which will automatically pass them, but are actually quietly beginning to put them into practice, always in a way which is difficult to counter without seeming to put the American Governor-General in an openly 'unfriendly' position. By these "peaceful revolutionary" means the Japanese hope to gain the complete control over domestic questions which is their undoubted right under the autonomy granted them by the United States.

E. K.-P.

The "Christian Viking" in the East.

Two important little books which have been recently published — *China and Britain*, by R. O. Hall (Edinburgh House Press, London), and the *British Connection with India*, by K. T. Paul (British Student Movement), might be taken as the foundation for a study of the whole relation of the West to the East. Both of them show clearly that it is not so much events as attitudes that matter, in the dealings of a powerful people with its weaker neighbours. Behind everything that is done lies that vague psychological atmosphere by which all human relationships are ultimately determined. And the chief difficulty, whether in regard to nations or people, seems to be that of seeing the other person's point of view. We each bring to the situation a tangle of preconceptions and prejudices which colour for us everything that happens. Mr. Hall's book is particularly good in pointing out the dominating characteristics of the British and Chinese peoples; on the one hand a conquering, practical, pioneering race, a self-assertive individuality, ever ready to seek possibilities of self-expansion in new lands when conditions at home became cramped and confining; on the other, an ancient and settled civilisation, based not on the individual, but on the family, and marked by a complex and subtle system of social relationships, a delicate social harmony founded on mutual tolerance and forbearance. The West, with its watchword of efficiency, its desire to get things done, its stress on

action and progress, is apt to overlook the gentler virtues, imaginative sympathy and respect for human feeling. "In *life outlook*" says Mr. Hall, "we are still in the main what we were before the influence of Christianity reached us," we are still Christian Vikings, and Mr. Paul quotes Lord Morley as saying, in 1907, "Our administration — so shrewd observers and very experienced observers assure me — would be a great deal more popular if it was a trifle less efficient." What the West needs, is "an attitude not of judgment, but of interest" — of sympathetic interest, in the efforts which the Eastern peoples are making to build up a civilisation of their own which shall at the same time be open to what is best in Western influence. It must endeavour to exchange its attitude of dominance, its youthfully arrogant joy in "running" a backward people — for the more mature satisfaction of comradeship, brotherly help and sympathy. Both Mr. Hall and Mr. Paul plead eloquently for this change, and both, on the whole, with hope.

These two books should be carefully studied by all who wish for a fair-minded and well-informed presentation of the situation in China and India. The authors of both have had exceptional opportunities of seeing events from many sides and coming into touch with many types of opinion. Mr. Hall's book is of special value here; he stresses the point that no one group of people, whether business men or missionaries, is capable of judging the position of China as a whole, and that while the commercial community tends to see in her merely a market and to resent disturbances as interfering with business, the missionary himself is apt to fall into narrowness, and to "see China's difficulties with the Gospel-hindrance emphasis." We need a certain detachment in regard to the East, a willingness to stand back and watch, sympathetically; ready to help when help shall be asked for, but not striving to thrust upon her even those things of greatest good which we are conscious of possessing.

G. Q.

Notes on Contributors

Mr. K.H. BAILEY is Honorary Treasurer of the Australian Student Christian Movement.

President COLEMAN, of Reed College, U.S.A., conducted one of the student pilgrimages arranged by the Student Christian Movement in the United States to Japan.

Mr. Merle DAVIS is the General Secretary of the Council of the Institute of Pacific Relations, Honolulu, Hawaii.

Professor H. DUNCAN HALL, of the Department of History, University of Sydney, Australia, was Exchange Professor in the Department of Citizenship and Public Affairs, Syracuse University, U.S.A.

Mr. T.M. HASLETT is a Travelling Secretary of the World's Student Christian Federation, and was in charge of the preparations for the proposed Student Pacific Basin Area Conference at Peking, which had to be abandoned owing to the disturbed state of the country.

Mr. Kensuke KAWACHI, who was born in Hawaii of Japanese parents graduated at the University of Hawaii in 1925. He is an active leader in the Student Christian Movement in Hawaii, and for two years following his graduation was Young Men's Division Secretary in the National Y.M.C.A. of Honolulu.

Dr. John MACKAY was formerly Professor at the University of Peru, and is now a member of the staff of the South American Federation of Y.M.C.A.s.

Mr. T.L. SHEN is Student Secretary of the National Committee of Young Men's Christian Associations of China.

Mr. N.N. THELLE, formerly assistant to Mr. Reichelt at the Buddhist Mission in Nanking, is now finishing his theological studies at Oslo University, Norway.

Dr. C.C. WU, who is a graduate of Atlantic City High School, U.S.A. and of London University, is Minister of Foreign Affairs in the Nanking Cabinet of the Nationalist Government of China.

THE STUDENT WORLD

A quarterly magazine published at 13, Rue Calvin, Geneva,
by the World's Student Christian Federation

J. R. MOTT, Chairman

HENRY-LOUIS HENRIOD,
General Secretary

FRANCIS P. MILLER,
Administrative Secretary, Editor.

MISS G. QUIN, Associate Editor.

VOLUME XXII

March 1928

NUMBER 2

"What the world seems to need is an occidentalising of the Orient and an orientalising of the Occident, an exchange of values between West and East, so that men will neither regard the values of nature in the interest of progress, nor will they regard the values of civilization in the interest of the East. Both are exchanging values along with the time. Both are exchanging values between the Western and the Eastern world. The West has lost the values of the East, and the East has lost the values of the West. The world is in a state of confusion. The world is in a state of poverty. The poverty of the Orient is due to a premature acceptance of nature's limitations. Let both the West and the East profit by borrowing from each other."

Reinhold Niebuhr.

As most readers of the "Student World" know, the next meeting of the General Committee of the Federation will take place in India. This decision was arrived at the last General Committee Meeting, in response to the strong request of the Indian Student Christian Movement. The present number of the "Student World" has been prepared with this meeting in view. Its object is to give not only those who will actually go to India, but the Student Movements themselves all round the world, an opportunity of entering more closely into contact with Indian life, and of getting to know something of the past history of the country, its great heritage of thought and spiritual experience, the situation in which it finds itself to-day, and the vast problems — political, social and above all spiritual — with which

it is confronted. The relation of East and West is one of the most important problems of the day and of the immediate future. It is not merely political or economic or social — it goes down to the very roots of things — our attitude to life as a whole, our sense of values. Shall we, within the next few decades, succeed in so directing our course that the result of the impact of these two great civilisations and traditions — the Eastern and the Western — shall be not discord, but harmony and mutual enrichment, not suspicion and antagonism, but co-operation and confidence ?

These questions, and many others, will be in the minds of some of those who go to India for the big meeting at the end of this year ; let us hope that there may result from it at any rate some small step forward towards finding an answer.

The articles in this number have been selected by the Indian Student Movement from the Indian Student Headquarters. They represent an attempt to give a true and varied picture of Indian life to-day, and for this purpose writers of very different backgrounds and points of view have been chosen. Naturally, the Federation does not identify itself with any one of these points of view, and accepts no direct responsibility for the opinions expressed. It is felt, however, that taken together the various articles give a stimulating and vivid impression of the great forces and movements which are fashioning and re-moulding Indian life.

The Heritage of India

By P. CHENCHIAH.

I.

Introduction

The heritage of any country is a compound of light and shade, of good and evil — an admixture of deeds that inspire, of heroes that set the heart on fire, of customs that shackle, of ignorance that impedes and of sin that desolates. India is no exception, save in this that the evil in her civilization has been more persistently broadcasted than the good by hasty tourists, interested political agents, and zealous missionaries of the old type. But I am sure that the Delegates of the World's Student Christian Federation who are gathering in India in 1928 would rather desire to get a vision of India in all her beauty and glory, to see her as her own children see, than know the ugliness, sorrows and sin which she shares with other nations. Patriotism casts a magic spell over the past, and weaves out of the materials of history stories that inspire and urge the race to move forwards. To the loving child the mother's face is the most beautiful, let her be ever so plain for the critic. I write of Mother India as her son, and not as her critic.

When Alexander the Great, after conquering the then known world, entered India, he met two types of manhood, characteristic of the Indian civilizations — worthy warriors like Porus, who fought him bravely, and saintly Sadhus, whom his fame failed to impress. Both of these types spring from the bosom of India — one expressing the ideal of power and possession, and the other the ideal of love and renunciation. Other countries have produced kings and saints; but the peculiar genius of India lies in the exaltation of the Sadhu (ascetic) over the King, the man of renunciation over the man of power. When the Indian saint approached the palace, the Indian King bowed his head in adoration and received his blessing; and this act symbolized the spiritual values which India holds and treasures.

II.

Religion and Philosophy.

The heritage of India is essentially and predominantly religious. The pursuit of the infinite, the search of the unknown has been the main pre-occupation of India all through the ages. The pageant of India — benevolent rulers, far-famed conquerors, learned pundits, incomparable philosophers, great poets and singers; palaces, palm-shaded villages and populous towns, — all these are in the picture. But in the centre are the Sadhu and the Rishi (seer), the searchers after truth. All Indian arts, crafts and sciences are born of her religion. Indian music is the praise of the gods, Indian painting is the portrait gallery, Indian architecture their temples. And in the background, all attractive and charming, India's "God" — the Brahman, the mysterious God, the eternal, the unchangeable, the unassessed history. Religion is the main vein and a part of the life of India's Rishi and Rishi is her Christ.

Let us first briefly review the main scenes in the drama of India's religious history. The curtain lifts in the Rig-Veda Hymns about 1500 B. C. and the scene is a picture of people worshipping the elements, trees, Nature, the gods, the sun, the moon. In the rosy dawn of Indian religion, kindly gods with sympathetic hearts responded to the prayers, granted the petitions, accepted the invitations of her devotees.

The scene changes, and we find great souls wrestling with their thoughts in hermitages in the forests, pursuing with unswerving purpose the elusive mystery of life. As the result of their investigations they announce in the Upanishads (600-200 B. C.) profound truths, which have set their seal on classic Hinduism. They discourse of a God who is "Antharyamin," the dweller in human hearts; of Karma, the laws of the Universe both animate and inanimate; of "Om" the eternal sound, the parent of all creation. These truths, — the indwelling of God, the law of life and the Logos, — were proclaimed to India by her own prophets, long ages before they were perceived by the Jewish followers of Christ.

On the crest of these waves of thought rides the great Buddha (500 B. C.) the "Light of Asia," who propounded the doctrine of "flux," that life is a perpetual stream of sense-impressions,

anticipating the gospel of Bergson in the twentieth century. He denied the existence of "Atman" and "Brahman," but reaffirmed the existence of Karma. In spite of his great negations, he released by his life and example a great stream of love that has fertilized the human heart all over Asia. Born of a royal family, Gautama in truth exchanged one throne for another, — the material for the spiritual, — and with his mendicant's staff he rules over a larger empire of souls than any earthly king in history. He stands as an "Indian Jesus," a supreme lover of mankind who spent himself to enlighten others.

About 200 B. C. there comes another kaleidoscopic change. Two great faiths challenge the homage of India, — the worship of Siva and Vishnu; the one a puritanic faith, with stern ethics and severe discipline renouncing the world as *maya*; the other rejoicing in creation and thrilling with life.

Then came the Age of the Puranas (A. D. 300), which change the theatre of religion from heaven to earth. In the Puranic legends, the gods descend and make this world the scene of their exploits. They intervene to save the world from moral disaster — the triumph of evil.

Then the middle ages (A. D. 700-1300) intervene, giving us the great Acharyas, Sankara, Ramānuja and Madhvacharya, the champions respectively of monism, monotheism and pluralism.

New races and new nations come into India, bringing strange faiths. The Mussulman conquest brings Islam, and out of the religious warfare between the old and the new creeds, India gains a larger conception of God and a wiser perception of truth. What seemed to be a disastrous conflict proved to be the birth of the great "Bhakti" Movement of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries A.D., in which the passionate love of God, the utter surrender of the heart, the almost excruciating desire for liberation, reach heights of unparalleled grandeur in spiritual history. Chaitanga in Bengal, Guru Nanak in the Punjab, the Mahrathi saints in the West, and Theygaraja in South India, feed the fires of religion with their devotion and keep it burning bright. They tell us that there are three great things in life — Knowledge, faith, and action, (Jnana, Bhakti and Karma). Of these three, Bhakti is the greatest. In the midst of this vast world of religious experience runs the scheme of "Yoga" (self-discipline). In the midst of rigid social customs and bewildering mythologies, the Yogis pursued the pathway of the spirit. The Yogis of India are not merely wonder-workers and miracle-mongers. They are the torch-bearers of the eternal truth, spokesmen of the spirit.

Such is the religious heritage of India, in the barest outline. Perhaps the genius of Hindu religion can be better understood by now considering some of its characteristic features in actual working, rather than by a study of its history.

(1) Pre-eminently the distinctive feature of Hinduism is the abiding sense of the reality of the unknown. The mystery and the magic of the East, the romance of its history, the enchantment and the spell of Indian art, all arise from this central fact. The "lure of the invisible" has been the prime motive of Indian religion and art. It is the original endowment of Indian race-consciousness. The great battle between Hinduism and Buddhism was fought around this cherished conviction. Buddhism, which denied the Brahman (the Indian name for the mystery of life) conquered Hinduism for a time by the power of its philosophy and by the beauty of its ethics. But after having lost everything Hinduism won back India from Buddhism, because the heart of India yearned for the unknown God.

(2) Another great feature of Hinduism is its toleration. No country in the world can boast of such an unsullied history of religious toleration as India. In the long history of religious convictions on others by force, never in India has there been a word of truth and love, never persecuted in the interests of religion. Lapses, no doubt, there were, but on the whole the history of religion in India is unmarred by persecutions. Not only is the Indian religion tolerant of heresies within its borders, but it is also generous and hospitable to alien faiths. The Parsee and the Christian communities in India, found in the most remote and hostile lands, found in India the most tolerant and hospitable. The Christian Community in India is under a Hindu ruler. The pogrom, the stake and the thumbscrew are alien to Indian genius.

(3) Another trait born out of the Indian genius with the mystery of life is the godliness of Hinduism. The Hindu is a creature of the gods. The essence of Hinduism is best expressed in the words of Coleridge: "He prayeth best who loveth best, All things both great and small." The religious mythology of India is shot through and through with this tender love for all manifestations of God. In the psalms of the Jews and the prophets of the Old Testament there is never a hint of anger nor a desire for revenge.

The philosophy of India is worthy of comparison with the deepest thought of ancient Greece or Modern Europe. The two recent volumes by Professor Radhakrishnan entitled "Indian Philosophy" have revealed to a wide circle of readers its range,

variety, daring and earnestness. There are six systems of philosophy in India, — the Upanishads, the Mimamsa, the Nyaya, the Vyeshika, the Sankhya and the Yoga; a fact which indicates the freedom of thought permitted in philosophic speculation.

III.

Literature and Art.

(a) Literature :

The religious and philosophic literature of India forms a continuous and ever-widening stream of religious thought and reflection. The Vedas, the Upanishads, the Sutras, the Puranas, the Bhakti and Sakti Literature, the Siva and Vishnu Agamas, the hymnology of the Northern and Southern saints — all constitute a literary tradition unique in religious history. The Bhagavat Gita, often called "the Bible of India" is a remarkable attempt to gather and reconcile the various tendencies of Hindu religion into a consistent philosophy.

The secular literature of India is no less notable and the last century has made available in western tongues (partly through the labours of western scholars, and more widely that it would take a life-time to master it. And what is translated is but a portion of what exists both in Sanskrit and in the vernaculars; and what exists is but a fragment of what has been written in the past. The Ramayan, and Mahabharat are master-pieces of epic literature, embodying the customs, ethics and the practical wisdom of the race, and are India's proudest gallery of heroes. Didactic poetry, both in the Sanskrit and in the Vernaculars, is also highly developed.

Indian drama also has a memorable history. Bhasa, Kalidasa, Bhavabhuti, are the classic exponents of this branch. Kalidasa's "Sakuntala" ranks among the best dramas of the world. The *Arjunabhagam* is not collected; Kalidasa's "Meghaduta", Bhartrihari's, "Singhasanotsarga" and Jeyadeva's "Gitagovinda" mark the art at its height.

In the realm of law the Institutes of Manu and Yajnavalkya codify the common law of India, and are worthy to be placed alongside the Justinian Code.

The Indian system of medicine (the Ayurvedic), though defective in operations which require the use of scientific instruments, is rich in the curative department. Surgery is primitive, but medicine is highly developed.

(b) Art :

Upon Indian Art — in itself an extensive field — it is only possible just to touch. Indian arts — architecture, sculpture, painting, music, and dance — all arise out of Indian religion¹ and are grouped around the temples. The intimate relation of art with religion is a characteristic of India. Though unlike western art in motive, technique and execution, they are highly scientific. Indian Art is communal, and expresses the sentiments and the views of the age, and not of individual genius as in the case of the western. It is suggestive and introspective, anxious to catch the mood and meaning of things rather than to photograph the face and features. Indian Art is always a language employing symbols and its significance is interpreted only by tradition and convention. The Stupa (the memorial dome), the Chaitya (the worshipping hall), the Vihara (monastery), and the rock-cut cave temples, are the special legacy of the Buddhist period. The Sikhara, the Gopura, and the ornate temple are India's great heritage from Dravidian art, and among these the temples of Tanjore and Madura are grand monuments of devotion and piety. The Mussulman gave us the Minaret, the Mosque and the Palace, those white dreams in marble of which the Taj Mahal at Agra is an immortal expression.

Along with temple architecture goes Indian sculpture and painting. The figures and the history of gods and the life of the saints are carved elaborately on stone and wood in every temple; indeed the walls of the temples are the pages on which the paintings of India are sketched. Space forbids us to speak at length of the marvellous bronzes of India and the exquisite ivory and wood-carving.

A word may be said on Indian music and dance, two branches of Indian Art yet awaiting interpretation to the west. An attempt had been made in the "Heritage of India" series¹ to give a connected account of the development of Indian music. The Indians are a musical race, and naturally both music and dance have been very extensively cultivated. The dominant factor in Indian music is melody and rhythm. The chief feature of the Indian dance is grace and expressiveness. It is speech in pose and posture, and poetry in motion.

The artistic heritage of India is a triple blend of the Aryan, Dravidian and Mohammedan legacies, and forms a worthy

¹ "Indian Painting" by H. A. Popley.

complement to its literature as an interpretation through speech and symbol of the deepest factors in the Indian national consciousness.

IV.

Domestic and Social Life.

The worth and value of a civilization is rightly measured by the place it gives to Woman in its social economy, and the type of family life it builds up. In theory at least, the place of woman in Indian life is very high. She suffers from no spiritual, social or legal disqualifications. There never was any "Salic Law" in India. Indian history is remarkable for the number of queens that existed in its past. The Indian law did not impose any property disqualifications on account of sex. Within the household, no religious ceremony can take place without the mother's presence and co-operation. Reverence to the mother is a deep and ineradicable trait of Indian character. The wife is known as "Grihalakshmi", (goddess of the house) and "Sahadkarmini" (co-partner in religion). Ideals of chastity are nourished by the historic examples of Sita who followed her lord Rama in all his wanderings, and of Savitri, who followed her husband beyond the portals of death and brought him from the land of shades back to life.

It is not claimed that Indian life in practice always comes up to this ideal. Early marriages and enforced widowhood are blots on the otherwise beautiful picture. But is not the attitude of man to woman all over the world and all through history a curious and incongruous blend of high ideals and low achievements?

Three institutions characteristic of the social genius of India deserve special mention, — the "ashram" ideal, the joint family system, and the village constitution.

The "Ashram" plan, which was extensively followed in the past, divides the life of the Hindu into four ages — (1) Brahmacharya (student life); (2) Grihastha (the life of a citizen); (3) Vanaprastha (where the husband and wife, after the children have taken on themselves the family responsibility, devote themselves to religious meditation); (4) Sanyasa (the thorough surrender to God after severing all earthly ties).

The joint-family system is another institution which exemplifies the Indian ideal of mutual help. Under that system wages are not measured by work, and the vigorous application

of economic laws is tempered by moral and spiritual considerations. The Indian village is the pride of the Indian social polity. It displays a happy mean between unrestricted individualism and enervating communalism. Two features of the Indian village system which have anticipated the new social order that is being planned throughout the world, are an ample provision for communal property, and insistence on every member of society doing some productive work for which he is paid in kind and not in money. To-day there is increasing readiness to recognise that the key to the regeneration of India is the reconstruction of the Indian village on the ancient model.

v.

The soul of Indian culture and civilization is the desire to realise the variety of life in the unity of the spirit. The meaning of Indian history in the light of eternal purpose is to realise this unity in the bewildering context of opposing creeds and cultures. It is the conviction of the Christian young men of India that in Him who stands between the East and the West gathering both to His great heart the world will find its destiny. Three great religions were born in India, Hinduism, Buddhism and Jainism. Two great religions have come to her — Islam and Christianity. To-day the races of the world, East and West, are meeting within her confines. May it not be that God is bringing about this conjunction of races and religions in order that India may see in Jesus the consummation of the world life. India welcomes the Christians from all parts of the world, in the hope and prayer that they may see a new vision of Jesus, (Jesus the centre of the races and religions of the world) as the consummation and climax of the world life, and that having seen this vision they may march forth as an international band of Crusaders, for the redemption of the old world and the inauguration of the New Kingdom of God.

Deutsche Zusammenfassung

I. Einführung.

Der geistige Gehalt eines jeden Kindes liegt tief und fest in der Hand und Unterhand seines Vaters. Wie es sich zeigt, so denken seine Sinne. Das Kind muß die Vererbung seiner Väter und Vorfahren empfangen. Es muß die Vererbung empfangen, die es von seinen Vorfahren empfangen hat. Die Vererbung des Geistes ist das, was das Kind empfangen wird. Die Vererbung des Geistes ist das, was das Kind empfangen wird. Die Vererbung des Geistes ist das, was das Kind empfangen wird.

Zwei Ideale haben seit altersher in Indien ihre Verkörperung gefunden, das des Kriegers und das des Heiligen, des Sadhu, eines von ihnen Macht und Besitz verkörpernd, das andere Liebe und Entsagung. Aber — und dies ist besonders typisch für Indien, Sadhu, der Asket ist über den König erhoben worden!

II. Philosophie und Religion.

Der wesentlichste geistige Gehalt Indiens liegt in der Religion. Das Forschen nach dem Unendlichen, das Suchen nach dem Unbekannten ist durch die Jahrhunderte hindurch das Wichtigste für den Inder gewesen. Alle indischen Künste sind aus der Religion hervorgegangen und haben ihren Stempel der Verehrung der Religion ist das Herz und Hirn des indischen Volkes.

Im nächsten Abschnitt wollen wir eine geschichtliche Uebersicht über die verschiedenen indischen Philosophien geben, die am Werk waren, geben. Diese Philosophien der Rig Veda vor allem ein einfaches Hirtenvolk, das in kindlicher Form durch Opferfeuer seine gütigen Götter verehrte. Bald aber erwacht ein Fragen nach den tiefsten Geheimnissen des Lebens, ein Wunsch nach Einsamkeit und Einsiedlerei, um in der Stille über diese Dinge zu grübeln. Der Freisinn dieses Nachsinnens finden wir in den Upanishaden, in denen die tiefen Wahrheiten der Kernpunkt der indischen Philosophie sind. „Arytharyamin“ seinen Wohnsitz in das Herz der Natur verlegend. Die tiefen Gesetze des Universum und des Logos werden in Indien in der Upanishaden-Philosophie

Blüte dieser Bewegung ist Buddha, (-500 v. Chr.) das Licht des Lebens, der die Lehre vom „Fluss“ des Lebens verkündete. Er leugnete „Arman“ und „Brahman“, aber befestigte den Glauben an Karma. Trotz der vielen Verneinungen seiner Lehre hat er durch sein Leben und Vorbild die Kraft der Liebe bewiesen und dadurch die Herzen in ganz Asien gewonnen. Vor ihm und ihm nachfolgend haben sich die indischen Philosophen entwickelt. Sie haben die indische Philosophie zu einer tiefen, reichen, und vielfältigen Kunst der Philosophie gemacht, die die Menschheit zu neuen Höhen hat geführt.

Im 6. und 5. v. Chr. haben die Vedischen, Sankhya, und Jaina Philosophen die indische Philosophie in die Richtung des Lebens und der Verneinung des Lebens geführt. Die Vedischen Philosophen haben die indische Philosophie in die Richtung des Lebens geführt, die Sankhya Philosophen in die Richtung der Verneinung des Lebens, die Jaina Philosophen in die Richtung der Verneinung des Lebens. Im Mittelalter haben die indischen Philosophen Acharyas, Sankara, Ramanuja und Madhva die indische Philosophie in die Richtung des Lebens und der Verneinung des Lebens geführt. Im Mittelalter haben die indischen Philosophen Acharyas, Sankara, Ramanuja und Madhva die indische Philosophie in die Richtung des Lebens und der Verneinung des Lebens geführt.

Fremde Völker und Rassen kommen nach Indien, unter ihnen die Muselmänner, die den Islam mit sich bringen. Aus den Religionskämpfen, die zwischen alten und neuen Glauben entbrannen, gewinnt Indien eine neue Auffassung von Gott und eine neue Auffassung über die Welt. Aus einem schmerzhaften Kampf zwischen Konfessionen heraus entsteht die neue Bhakti-Bewegung des 14. u. 15. Jahrhunderts n. Chr. Durch diese Bewegung wird die indische Philosophie wieder lebendig. Sie führt nach der Liebe Gottes, die einzige Erhebung des Herzens und der menschlichen Würde nach Erlösung werden sich zu einer unerbittlichen Höhe wie sie in der Religionsgeschichte wohl nie vorher vorhanden war. Innungen einer Menschheit, die einerseits durch strenge soziale

Regeln gebunden, andererseits in einer verwirrenden Mythologie verkettet war, ertönt der Schrei „Yoga“, das ist die Forderung nach „Selbstdisziplin“ und Geistigkeit.

Dies ist in rohen Zügen das religiöse Erbe Indiens. Wir wollen jetzt zur besseren Verständigung des Hinduismus einige besonders charakteristische Wesenszüge zeigen, u. wie sie sich allmählich entwickelt haben.

1) Eine der hervorragendsten Eigentümlichkeiten des Hinduismus ist der ihm innewohnende Glaube an das Vorhandensein des „Unbekannten.“ Die Mystik und Magik des Ostens, die Romantik seiner Geschichte, die Uebersteigerung und der Zauber indischer Kunst entspringen alle diesem Glauben.

Der Buddhismus, der Brahman (d. h. die Mystik des Lebens) verneint, besiegte durch seine Philosophie und die Schärfe seiner Logik für eine zeitlang den Hinduismus, aber weil die Seele Indiens sich dem unbekannten Gott schrie, konnte dieser Sieg nicht von Dauer bleiben.

2) Eine andere Eigenschaft des Hinduismus ist seine grosse Duldsamkeit, wie jeder in der Religionsgeschichte Indiens kaum irgendwelche Verschiedenheit, in der religiösen Anschauung der verschiedenen die um ihres Glaubens willen verstorben sind, als einheitliche Gesamtheit ansieht.

3) Aus seinem Glauben, der tief eingewurzelt ist in das wunderbare Geheimnis des Lebens, entspringt dem Hindu eine Güte zu aller Kreatur. Auch in seiner Mythologie stossen wir immer wieder auf diese grosse Liebe gegenüber allen Geschöpfen Gottes.

Literatur und Kunst.

a) Literatur :

Durch die religiöse und philosophische Literatur Indiens fliesst ein fortwährender und ewig erneuerter Strom neuer Gedanken und Betrachtungen. Diese „Brahma, Gottheit des Hinduismus“ genannt, ist die wahre Lebens-Weisheit, die alle verschiedenen Tendenzen des Hinduismus zu sammeln und sie in einer einheitlichen Philosophie zusammenzufassen. Andere Werke, wie die Orda, Upanishads, Puranas, Bhakti, Siva, etc. können hier nur genannt werden.

Die weltliche Literatur Indiens ist nicht weniger reichhaltig. Man hat durch die letzten Zeiten manche wertvolle Sammlungen von indischen Literatur erhalten. Aber auch jetzt noch ist die indische Literatur, was sie schon gewesen ist, so gering im Vergleich zu den noch unerschlossenen Werken. Meistensstücke der epischen Kunst, die Ramayana und Mahabharata. Auch Drama und Lyrik haben ihren Platz in der indischen Literatur.

In den Gesetzen Manus und Yajnavalkya ist das allgemeine Recht Indiens kodifiziert, das eine Gegenüberstellung mit dem Justinianischen Kode aufnehmen kann.

b) Kunst :

Die Indische Kunst — dieses in sich selbst ungeheure Gebiet — können wir nur ganz kurz streifen. Ihre starke Beeinflussung durch die Religion haben wir schon erwähnt. Sie ist nicht, wie in westlichen Ländern der Ausdruck eines Individualismus, sondern der eines ganzen Volkes,

eines Zeitalters. Die Kunst gibt die Dinge nicht naturgetreu wieder, sondern erfasst sie stimmungsmässig und bedient sich bei der Gestaltung oft der Symbole. Ein Gang durch die Tempel Indiens zeigt am besten die Entwicklung der Architektur, Skulptur und Malerei.

Die Inder sind ein musikalisches Volk, Tanz und Musik sind ausserordentlich gepflegt. Die Hauptelemente in indischer Musik sind Melodie und Rythmus, im Tanz Grazie und Ausdruck.

Gesellschaft und Familienleben.

Der Wert einer Zivilisation wird nicht zu Unrecht danach beurteilt, welche Stellung der Frau in der Gesellschaftsordnung gegeben wird und wie das Familienleben verwickelt ist. Die Stellung der Frau ist in Indien, wenigstens der Theorie nach, sehr hoch. Sie ist der Trägerin sozialer und gesetzlicher Beziehungen in etwa einmaliger Funktion: der Familie kann während ihres Lebens eine vorzügliche, eine Gegenwart der Mutter. Die Eheliche Gemeinschaft ist der Grund der Heiligkeit. Die Lebenszeit von Mann und Frau ist mit dem Mann und der Frau, die ihren Gatten bis zum Ende der Schürren und ins Jenseits begleiten, verbunden. Zurück ins Leben zu kehren.

In der Praxis erreicht das indische Leben nicht immer sein Ideal. Kinderheiraten und erzwungenes Witwentum sind Flecke auf diesem so schönen Bild. Aber ist nicht überall in der Welt und zu jeder Zeit die Haltung des Mannes zur Frau ein eigenartiges und nicht zu verstehendes Gemisch von hohen Idealen und einer allzu kümmerlichen Verwirklichung dieser Ideale gewesen.

Von drei Dingen, die typisch für die soziale Einstellung Indiens sind, müssen wir noch sprechen, diese sind das „Ashram“ Ideal, das vereinigte Familiensystem und die Dorf-Verfassung.

Das „Ashram“ Ideal, das in der Vergangenheit besonders häufige Verwirklichung fand, teilt das Leben der Hindu in vier Abschnitte: Das Leben der Ausbildung, des Studierenden; das Leben des Bürgers; „Vanaprastha“, eine Zeit religiöser Zurückhaltung, der sich die Eheleute widmen, nachdem die Kinder selbstständig geworden sind; „Sanyasa“, ein Leben, das ganz Gott gewidmet ist, in dem alle irdischen Bande gelöst sind.

In dem vereinigten Familiensystem findet das indische Ideal der gegenseitigen Hilfe seinen Ausdruck. Moral regelt die oekonomischen Gesetze. Aber der ganz besondere Stolz der indischen Sozialpolitik ist das indische Dorfsystem. Es ist eine wunderbare Lösung von unbegrenzten Individualismus einerseits und totaler Konformitätsanforderungen andererseits. Heute weiss man, dass der Schlüssel zu höherer Neubildung genau und allein in der Wiederbelebung des alten indischen Dorfsystems liegt.

Die Seele indischer Kultur und Zivilisation drückt sich aus in dem Wunsch, die Mannigfaltigkeit des Lebens in der Einheit des Geistes zusammenzufassen. Die Bedeutung der indischen Geschichte im Lichte eines ewigen Zweckes ist der Versuch, diese Einheit zu verwirklichen innerhalb der sich widersprechenden Kulturen und Religionen. Es ist der feste Glaube der jungen Christen in Indien, dass Er, der zwischen Westen und Osten steht, diese beiden Welten vereinigen kann. Drei grosse Religionen haben in Indien ihren Ursprung: Hinduismus, Buddhismus und Jainismus. Zwei grosse Religionen haben dort Einfluss gefunden — Islam und Christentum. Zwei grosse Rassen treffen sich

heute innerhalb ihrer Grenzen. Hat Gott nicht vielleicht gerade deshalb diese Vielheit der Rassen und Religionen nach Indien kommen lassen, damit Indien inmitten dieser Vielheit die Einheit in Jesus finden möge, nach der es so lange gesucht hat. Indien leiste die Abkondition des Weltbundes aus allen Teilen der Welt in diesem Jahr willkommen in der Hoffnung und dem Gebet, dass sie Jesum in einem neuen Licht sehen mögen (Jesus den Mittelpunkt der Rassen und Religionen der Welt), in dem sich das Leben der Welt konzentriert und verkörpert, und dass es sich ausserhalb der Welt befinde, als eine unermessliche Kretzelbewegung, die die Welt umkreist, auf dem Weg nach der Aufklärung des neuen heiligen Geistes zu streben wollen.

Résumé français.

I. L'Inde, comme tout autre pays, a recueilli un héritage où se mêlent l'ombre et la lumière, le bien et le mal, les faits ou les héros qui inspirent l'enthousiasme, les coutumes ou les images qui entraînent le progrès et la civilisation. Mais, dans cet héritage, il y a une autre part, la légende, la poésie, la fiction, qui ont été le fruit de sa pensée et de la pensée de ses habitants. L'Inde a été, à travers les siècles, le pays où l'homme désirent certainement avoir de l'Inde une vision de beauté et de gloire, celle qu'en ont ses propres enfants. Nous en parlerons donc, non en critique, mais en fils qui nait de sa mère.

Deux auteurs ont écrit sur l'Inde, et nous en avons lu deux autres, au cours de l'année. Les deux premiers, M. B. Spalding et M. J. H. Green, ont écrit des livres qui ont été traduits en français. Les deux autres, M. J. H. Green et M. J. H. Green, ont écrit des livres qui ont été traduits en français. Les deux autres, M. J. H. Green et M. J. H. Green, ont écrit des livres qui ont été traduits en français.

II. L'héritage de l'Inde est essentiellement religieux. La poursuite de l'infini et la recherche de l'inconnu ont été, à travers les siècles, la préoccupation dominante. Tous les arts hindous, nés de la religion, n'ont été que des tentatives pour atteindre l'infini, le divin, le sacré.

Après un exposé substantiel de l'Histoire des religions de l'Inde, l'auteur expose les éléments essentiels de la religion hindoue.

Mais, comme dans toute religion, il y a des éléments essentiels de la religion hindoue qui feront comprendre son génie :

1) Le sentiment de la réalité de l'inconnu et l'attrait de l'invisible sont les éléments caractéristiques de l'Indouisme : cause principale des conflits entre l'Indouisme et le Bouddhisme ; celui-ci triompha, à un moment donné, par le pouvoir de sa philosophie et la beauté de sa morale ; son triomphe fut passager.

2) Autre trait caractéristique : la métaphysique, l'élément de la religion hindoue, qui a été le moteur de la civilisation hindoue, a été le moteur de la civilisation hindoue, qui a été le moteur de la civilisation hindoue.

3) Tout pénétré du sentiment des mystères de la vie, l'Indouisme étend son amour à toutes les créatures de Dieu. Dans les Psaumes des Saints hindous, aucune allusion à la colère ou à la vengeance.

La pensée philosophique de l'Inde peut se mesurer avec celle de la

une certaine somme de travail pour laquelle il est payé en nature. On tend de plus en plus à voir dans le retour à ce système la clef de la régénération de l'Inde.

Le désir de synthétiser par l'unité spirituelle les manifestations diverses de la vie forme l'âme même de la culture et de la civilisation de l'Inde. Toute son histoire témoigne de l'effort vers cette unité au milieu des conflits de croyances et de civilisations hostiles. La jeunesse hindoue est convaincue qu'en Celui qui appelle à Lui l'Orient et l'Occident, le monde trouvera sa voie. L'Inde, berceau de trois grandes religions, le Bouddhisme, Bouddhisme, Jainisme, en a accueilli deux autres : l'Islamisme et le Christianisme. Aujourd'hui les races d'Asie et d'Occident se rencontrent sur son territoire. Dieu appelle pour unir ces deux mondes de races et de religions pour accomplir le plan de son règne. Les Hindous à la tête de leur mouvement "Hind Swaraj" ont lancé le slogan "Hind Swaraj" non universelle en elle-même, mais pour l'accomplissement de la mission nouvelle, c'est-à-dire des races et des religions unies pour le bien de l'humanité, armée internationale de Christ, et pour l'établissement du nouveau monde et pour l'établissement du nouveau Royaume de Dieu.

India in 1928

By K.T. PAUL.

As Young India enters the Year of Grace 1928 where does it find itself? What are the things which arrest its first attention? What are its deepest perplexities, its most inspiring hopes? What things draw it out into action, sacrifice and service? Such are perhaps the questions in the mind of those who have asked me to write on this topic. And as Young India is a highly complex entity, any survey of it has to be fairly comprehensive in its scope.

The Statutory Commission.

One topic engrosses the attention of all India for the moment, — to judge from what fills not columns but pages, day after day, our newspapers and magazines. The India Act of 1919 provided that a Commission should be appointed by Parliament in ten years to enquire into the working of the Reforms, with a view to a further advance in that progressive realisation of responsible government, which was declared by His Majesty's Government to be its definite policy for India. The tide in favour of India was indeed surging high when this provision was implemented in the India Act. Sir F. B. Maitland, M.P., one of those days, at lunch time in the Commons Lobby was that the general talk in the Commons Lobby was that the Commission would be appointed in five years. But the Fates conspired that Indian stock should go down rapidly in London in the next twenty-four months. The causes are written indelibly, in blood and fire, in the history of those times. We cannot recount them here. The fact need only be stated that from 1923 the spokesmen of India have persistently declared that the Reforms were unworkable, and with the same voice urged the immediate appointment of a Round Table Conference of all parties to consider a better arrangement. The Government at Whitehall, year after year with equal persistence, has maintained that it will be time enough to appoint the Commission when the Reforms

are worked. There was of course more in it on both sides than these formulae would on the surface indicate. The inwardness of the tug-of-war was not the same at each spurt at the rope. The varying fortunes of the political parties in Britain determined the significance on the one side. The chequered history of India during this most eventful decade settled the content of India's mind for the time being. Varied though the inward significance was, the main difference of issues was the same. Many British statesmen were becoming more and more convinced that the Reforms had gone too far rather than otherwise, in certain directions; that the new stimuli had provoked certain unexpected developments, like the inter-communal jealousies, whose tenor had to be watched; and that therefore the appointment of the Commission should be delayed as long as it was legally permissible to do. As a result India gauged the attitude of even the friendliest statesmen on the other side of the water.

Why India Opposes the Commission.

As for the present Indian attitude, certain things must be stated fully. In the first place let it be realised, for it is no small matter, that this settled attitude of the British Cabinet was suddenly changed, without any apparent provocation. It was strongly suspected throughout India that the only reason for it was the change of Government. The Commission should be appointed by the Conservative Government while it was still in office. The approaching general elections in Britain were apparently more to the point than any arguments ranged by anyone on behalf of India for five long years!

Next, let it be realised that the Commission so appointed does not include a single Indian. The gravity of this procedure will be clear without any comments. But it was not without aggravating circumstances. About a year before the appointment certain of the Anglo-Indian papers made a suggestion that the Commission whenever it should be appointed should be free of all Indians and even of anyone who has hitherto had anything to do with India. This attitude of extreme caution and conservatism was immediately fastened on by Indian publicists, led by no less a person than Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, and made the subject of earnest debate for many months. British statesmen in this way got ample opportunity to learn that any such procedure would

be resented with the most fixed determination by India. Nevertheless when the announcement was finally made, it was precisely what had been advocated by the Anglo-Indian press of India. Was that an "inspired" suggestion meant to ascertain public opinion? If so, there was little avail in the discussion that ensued and the tormentors might have at least saved India twelve months of preliminary agony. Was it a *bona fide* suggestion, accepted by Government? If so, the view of one small (and after all, foreign) section of the public was given greater weight than the views of practically all other sections of the vast public of India!

Arguments That do not Convince.

It is said that it would have been impossible to appoint Indians who would be acceptable universally in India. This may be true in a sense. But if so, it is equally true in regard to any Commission at any time in the last 20 years or in the next 50 years. To observe this principle will be to leave Indians out of all Commissions whatever. It is amusing that an argument such as this could be presented with any seriousness to a British House of Parliament!

The really serious argument is based on the fact that the composition of the Commission is in strict accord with the letter of the Statute. It was to be a Commission of Parliament, and so it is. But was it ever understood that it was to be *exclusively* Parliamentary in its composition? There is no exclusive limitation in the Statute. Judging from the atmosphere in which the Act was passed, that could not possibly have been the intention of the Legislature which placed the provision in the Statute Book.

To-day the atmosphere is so far changed in England that reliance is openly placed on the Preamble of the Act, wherein it was virtually laid down that the British Parliament was to be for ever the arbiter of India's destiny. It is true that while the India Act was at the time welcomed by all parties in India, there was the widest dissatisfaction at the statement in the Preamble. Whatever the fact may be, there was no call to lay it down as a high principle, in a Statute which was deliberately intended to become the *Magna Charta* of India. It invited argument: the acceptance of it undoubtedly implied a perpetual acceptance of a kind of relationship between two peoples which is obviously impossible to a people of ancient culture and status, who (by the way) have never accepted the equity of any claims of "conquest." Accordingly even those who accepted the India

but a real intention to welcome India into full partnership, in the matter of her own well-being, as also of the whole British Commonwealth. The very debate in Parliament was staged so as to produce the most favourable effect on India.

An Unfortunate Book.

Contrast with this the series of unfortunate acts and omissions culminating in the arrival of the Simon Commission. One of them was none other than the publication of Miss Mayo's *Mother India*. It cannot be fairly alleged that the Government had any share in having the book written. But it has been believably stated again and again that copies of the book were made available to a number of members of the House of Commons. At all events it cannot be denied that the book has had a tremendous circulation in Britain, and that it actually darkened the atmosphere just when the question of the appointment of the Commission came to be considered.

Miss Mayo's book is in the nature of one of those rare poisons which can never be cured, which fester and sink deeper the more delicately they are approached. A subtle calumny, breathed by a trusted friend in such a clever way that it cannot be disproved nor even effectively denied, is one such poison. It will take many years, some generations, before the poisonous impressions left by the book on both races can recede into oblivion. The evil wrought by the book is not what is alleged against India — even the vilest of it — so much, as the collapse it has brought about of the delicate bridge of mutual respect and confidence which was being laboriously built by a thousand hands on either side who were devoted to international goodwill, specially between the two peoples whose destinies are so strangely and yet so vitally intertwined in India.

A Great Opportunity Lost.

A compromise was forthcoming as regards the Commission. But why any compromise at all, if what was first done was "correct" and with the best intent? The compromise is, that there should be a parallel Committee appointed by the Indian Legislatures, with certain powers. This is not the place to analyse the scheme as to its merits. We may immediately admit that it

is good so far as it goes. It may also be pointed out that the way out of the débâcle lies in the measure of sincerity with which this part of the scheme is actually worked. In fact one sees so much possibility in it that one wonders why this should not have been made part of the whole scheme when it was first announced. Before the actual announcement of the scheme, the Viceroy had a number of private conferences with leading men. It is generally believed that this thing which has been offered as a compromise was due to the advice of the Viceroy. If so, it is difficult not to say that a great golden opportunity was lost in not presenting the scheme at its very inception as a joint undertaking, the British Legislature doing its part, the Indian Legislature its part; and both jointly and severally presenting their reports on a matter of importance to the King in the Parliament. No such sympathetic imagination could apparently arise in the present atmosphere in Downing Street. So that what might have been a golden hoop when offered as a token of fellowship is reduced to a brass farthing when thrown out as a sop to quiet down feelings of injury and resentment after they have been fomented.

The Inter-Communal Tension.

These are none too pleasant thoughts. For an Indian they but add zest to the bitterness of his feelings regarding an evil which is purely domestic.

That Hindus and Moslems have been quarrelling will possibly be no news to even the most distant visitor to India. On nearer acquaintance he will learn one or two things in addition. Firstly, Hindus and Moslems are not the only communities that are quarrelling. The non-Brahman Movement which started in South India with much strength some eight years ago has consolidated its power, and is reaching out with fresh strength into Western India at the present time. The so-called Depressed Classes (the people below the grade of non-Brahmans), have also asserted themselves in the various provinces, claiming justice in regard to their social, economic and educational needs. While these three are the main lines of cleavage, many other "cracks" have also developed, smaller in comparison, but tragic enough in all human reckoning of their effects on the communities concerned.

On closer study certain strange phenomena will be observed. In the Indian States (the areas ruled by Indian Princes), inter-

communal conflict is conspicuous by its absence. We have even the strange fact that the Mohammedan Nizam of Hyderabad has appointed a Hindu as Prime Minister ; that in the ultra-conservative Hindu Kingdom of Travancore the reigning Queen has appointed a Christian as Prime Minister ; and that in Mysore, the most progressive of all the States, the Hindu Maharaja has appointed a Mohammedan as his Prime Minister. I was talking on this very point not a fortnight ago with one of the highest officials in one of these States. "What is *your* special advantage, which *we* have not got" ? I asked. "We too have these inter-communal situations," he said, "but they are no more serious than they have been all these centuries. The trouble between Hindus and Moslems is nothing greater than what arises equally frequently between our Christian communities!" "How do you deal with them" ? was my query. "In an Indian State, the government is after all more personal, and less official, I believe," was his answer.

The Weakening of Authority.

Surely enough the observer will note that Hindus and Mohammedans live together in social and economic interdependence in all the provinces, in every town and in every village throughout this sub-continent. If they do have problems which cannot be solved except by violence, such interdependence could not have been developed and conserved all these eight centuries. In pre-British days, right was doubtless more apt to be established by might, precisely as in all Europe in the Middle Ages. Even to-day, there is no other sanction operative between nations anywhere in the world, — with all deference to Geneva and Locarno! The advantage which nations do not have, communities within a nation do have, in every well ordered State. But not all communities in all the nations have yet realised the infinite advantage of legal processes over an immediate settlement by a free fight. The same processes which have rendered tournaments and duels obsolete in the West will certainly be operative in India as well. In the British period, the District Official, when wise and strong, generally maintained not merely law and order but also justice and equity as against superior wealth and power. More recently, especially with the advent of the Reforms and the liberating of many pent forces in consequence, the moral grip of the District Official, be he British or Indian, has loosened very considerably. In many a contingency he feels this so much

that he wishes to take no risks as regards law and order. "Justice and equity" (he feels) "must plead before the Courts: my own responsibility is security of person and property." An excellent formula in an ideal state, but in the actual world, an ideal constabulary, an ideal community which will not go into the witness box and swear falsely, and an ideal system in every department which cannot be bribed at any price! But that ideal is still far off; we are therefore in an interim stage when authority has fled from where it was, and is still hovering in mid-air, not knowing where to land.

The Economic Factor.

Somewhat closer study will reveal that economic conditions have a direct bearing on Inter-Communal rivalries. The main lines of cleavage, Hindu - Moslem, Brahman - Non Brahman, Caste - Non Caste, are all in reference to such practical issues as their relative share in Councils, Committees and Boards, Imperial, Provincial, and District, in Government services of every description, and in the apportionment of public funds for education and other public purposes. Their economic bearings are obvious. It is even more so in regard to those many minor issues which are the cause of local disturbances. The ancient system of caste, which was the basis of the old Indian economic system for centuries, is now almost lost practically all its economic sanction. The caste system is no longer those economic guarantees which he received in exchange for his economic freedom. Then he could fall back on a certain calling, and in return for that he could expect a certain status. He is now without a safety net, and he is being swept down toward unchecked competition. What wonder that in the midst of this welter there should frequently be a setback into strong communal solidarity? In very despair, those who go to the wall combine. How could they combine except along the lines of social solidarity which are still there? Especially as those by whom they are now being trodden under so obviously themselves obtained the upper hand because they combined earlier, or combined more effectively? If economic conditions could be eased, several of the inter-communal situations would solve themselves. But the economic conditions spring from far-reaching and highly complicated causes. Still the root of the disease is there and the publicist has to study it.

This is an analysis of the present situation, — how far correct

one cannot say. To Young India, the situation looms in all its heavy darkness. Even the most trusted of leaders, with the most signal personal sacrifices, has failed to find a solution. The wisest and most sober are as ineffectual as the most fiery and intrepid. There is absolutely no solution in sight, while national solidarity is the one thing which is ardently required for the most urgent national causes. There could not be a more depressing situation than this.

The Independence Resolution.

A signal confession of despair and weakness was the passing of what is called the Independence Resolution by the National Congress. In the darkest days of what is called "Repression," — when some English University men went to jail, when the liberty of Mr. Ghandi was held in jeopardy, when he was hanging by a thin hair, in December 1920, — this same Independence Resolution was moved but was *deliberately thrown out* by the immense National Congress, which assembled from all points of the compass in Gandhi's own city of Ahmedabad. Twelve months later, with Gandhi in prison, the same resolution was moved again, and met the same fate. So also at every succeeding Congress. What has happened then, that this time it should go through with so much ease? One thing that has happened is "Mother India." There can be no doubt that Miss Mayo had as much to do with the passing of the Independence Resolution as all other factors put together. It was a cold iron which entered deep into the vitals, and found lodgement in the heart itself. But even that tragedy would have been overcome if the Congress had been in a mood to listen to counsels of wisdom. Mr. Gandhi did not attempt to guide, though he could not refrain from condemning the action after it was taken. How could he? He was not condemning it as unrighteous or inexpedient. Those were not his criteria. He was worried at the patent fact that it was a sign of terrible weakness. One may say that it makes no difference in practical politics. That is not true. An action such as that does have psychological effects from which Young India cannot escape. If on the top of it Young India could have risen up, and taken independence by sheer force, that would have been different. But such a course was unthinkable, even to the most radical speaker in the Congress pandal. To have felt impelled to say it, and then the next day, and all the following days, to go on as if nothing has happened, is humanly impossible. It is the demoralisation which necessarily provoked Mr. Gandhi's ire.

The Women of India.

While the men of India may find in such protest what relief they can for their galling impotency, the women of India are going into the battle, strong and swift. I wish Miss Mayo had been present at the Women's Conference in the National Week. I wish she had seen their number, their variety, their quality, their firm eager determined spirit, their well-informed plans of action, and not these only, but the great volume of work which each represented, done day in and day out, at much cost of personal comfort and time.

It is clear that if all the Christian Missionaries were to quit India to-day, the Social Reform Movement would go forward, unaffected, steadily, to progressive success. The same could not have been said even when twenty years ago Ranade took the helm with his master-hand and was willing to devote his vast powers to its success. It was still an uphill fight, and the widespread work of the Missionaries in numerous towns and villages was needed to undermine the ground all around. To-day their preparation has been well and truly done, the successes of the Social Reformers themselves have placed the Movement a real place in the present, the coming of Mr. Gandhi's personal example has been the hallmark of righteousness and justice. More than all these great factors the most promising feature is that the women have now taken the helm. It is theirs by right. Henceforth its success is entirely assured. At the time of writing, they have just concluded another brilliant National Conference at Delhi, and are in deputations interviewing groups of leaders of the different parties in the Legislature to secure that the age of marriage shall be raised. This question is of course only one of the several topics which are on their programme of work.

Education.

This coming of the Indian woman into her own could not have happened except for a great advance in modern education. And that is what has happened, — some think, even to a fault. In fact it is the considered opinion of experts that Indian education is top-heavy. This is perfectly true, in comparison with such countries as Britain. The out-put of the Universities is absolutely out of proportion to the achievements, either nominal or real, of the Elementary Schools which serve the masses. But is the University education we are having disproportionate to the needs of this vast country, if it is to find leadership from its

own children for the many lines of work which are in deplorable arrears? For instance, take this matter of social reform. Who could do this but Indians themselves? And how is it to be done except through getting first-class modern culture? The same applies to several other national problems, such as the inter-communal rivalry. Not for political and administrative services only, but for every great service, including the great economic services involved in the organisation of Agriculture, Industries, Commerce and Finance. Young India therefore finds much hope in the steady and even rapid spread of University education in the land, while undoubtedly every thoughtful son of India deplores the enormous difficulties which render mass education such a terribly slow process.

Hope for the Future.

The most hopeful sign of the latter is that the number of those who deplore this is rapidly on the increase. There is now clearly a real move towards a more effective system or systems of rural education, as well as an earnest desire to spread it freely, and if need be by compulsion, throughout the country. The latter involves taxation, but relative values have righted themselves, and there is an increasing willingness to pay the price. The former is not so easy. India has too long lived on the fallacy that Oxford and Cambridge, in some measure London and Edinburgh, furnished the sole models for education. Happily that illusion is being dispelled, and India has now begun to experiment on what would confer real education on the millions who cannot go onward to the University but who also have the right to what is essentially and truly "education." It is gratifying to note that in this new day, as in the old days of Duff and Miller, Christian Missionaries are the courageous pioneers. The first experiments are theirs, the most persistent propaganda on behalf of educational reform is theirs. The powers that be in the educational world are beginning to awaken. The day is at hand when the lead of Missions in rural education will be widely recognised as a timely piece of National service of inestimable value.

It is a matter well worth pondering that in University education Christian Missions have had the privilege of giving the lead and in a large measure maintaining the standard. What wonder that so much of the Spirit of Christ is in every generation being implicated into the human foundations whereon the reconstruction of India is being reared?

The Renaissance.

It is well to realise that what is happening in India is as wide as human personality. The Simon Commission's recommendations, the fate of the Reserve Bank scheme, the mystery of the Skeen Committee Report, the popularisation of the "Moga method" of Rural Education, these bulk large on the platform. They are undoubtedly of paramount importance. Nevertheless they are but parts of a wider comprehensive revival, which covers the entire life of the nation.

Certain elements of this Renaissance, various aspects of which are, I understand, to be described in other articles of this magazine. Next only to religion, and in close association with it, come Literature, Music and Art. These are not so easily accessible in a direct way to foreign visitors. Nor could a brief description of them do justice to their volume, or their power in the life of modern India. I will content myself with emphasizing the fact that the inter-action of West and East, in the deeper springs of life whence culture arises, is progressing in full vigour. The expression of this Renaissance, which is the life of the nation every day, has its own problems, its own crises. The conflicts which inevitably arise in the processes of clash or of synthesis provide the necessary background for all the problems of practical life. Some of these will be on the anvil of the General Committee of the Federation at Mysore, and before the Students in their Conference in the following week. They are issues which reach to the depths of personality, and as far as one can judge generally from the way in which they find outward expression, the promise is very golden for the future of India and her service to the world.

Résumé français.

Où en est la Jeune Inde au début de 1928 ? Quelles sont ses préoccupations et ses espérances dominantes ? Qu'est-ce qui l'incite à l'action, au sacrifice, au service ?

Cette question absorbe, en ce moment, l'attention de l'Inde tout entière. L'Acte de Réforme indien de 1919 déclarait qu'une Commission serait nommée avant 10 ans pour étudier le résultat des Réformes en vue d'accorder progressivement aux Indiens plus de part au gouvernement. Sir Edwin Montagu pensait même que la Commission serait nommée avant 5 ans. Mais dans les deux années qui suivirent l'histoire de l'Inde est écrite en lettres de sang et de feu. Depuis 1923, les porte-paroles de l'Inde n'ont cessé de déclarer les Réformes impraticables et de réclamer la nomination de la Commission. Refus persistant du Gouver-

Herrn Gandhi stark misbilligt worden, da er der Ansicht ist, dass ein Beschluss dieser Art, der unmöglich durchgeführt werden kann, leicht demoralisierende Wirkungen zur Folge hat.

Die Konferenz der Frauen, die kürzlich in Indien zusammenkam, zeigt in welch wachsendem Masse, die Frau jetzt an der Arbeit und Bestimmung der Wohlfahrt des Landes beteiligt ist. Sicher wird mit ihrer Hilfe die soziale Reformarbeit Fortschritte machen, selbst wenn die christlichen Missionen ganz zurückgezogen werden. Diese Entwicklung in der Stellung der Frau ist in engem Zusammenhang mit dem Fortschritt des Erziehungswesens. Das letztere ist in Indien oft kritisiert worden. Man hat behauptet, dass die Universitätsausbildung auf Kosten der Elementarbildung der Massen durchgeführt werde. Aber die einzige Hoffnung in Indien liegt in dem Heranbilden von Führern nicht nur für den Verwaltungsdienst, sondern auch in der Landwirtschaft, Handel, Industrie und Finanzwirtschaft. Die Notwendigkeit einer Volksbildung ist von den Indern selber immer mehr erkannt worden, sodass man ein neues System einer Volkserziehung aufstellte. In diesem Zusammenhang muss die grosse und wertvolle Pionierarbeit der christlichen Missionen dankbar anerkannt werden.

Überall in Indien spürt man ein Erwachen und eine Neubelebung dessen, was wahrhaft indisch ist. Dies können wir in Religion, Literatur, Musik und Kunst sehen. Der Austausch zwischen Osten und Westen, von dem beider Zukunft viel gewinnen kann, nimmt immer stärker zu. Aus diesem Prozess der Verbindung entstehen wichtige und bedeutende Folgen, aber nur dann, wenn wir wissen, dass die Versuche für die Zukunft Indiens und der Welt, die die westlichen Länder gemacht haben, nicht

The Womanhood of India

By MARGARET E. COUSINS.

A student's first contact with India will in all probability be made through the school subject of geography. He or she will look at India on a map, unless the said student looks out on the actual earth of India as an inhabitant of the country itself. Its geographical uniqueness is significant of everything in its life. It is a triangle whose base is the highest and coldest mountain range in the world, while its apex lies on the equator. And everything in India is like that, all-inclusive of reactions to every variety of climate, civilisation, race, religion and custom. It is a synthesis, — this sub-continent of 325 million people as large as Europe with Russia excluded, and as complex in its constituents — but yet veritably one, despite its self-contradictions and its paradoxes.

Fiction and Truth.

Within this geographical entity fiction and romance have hidden, rather than disclosed, the womanhood of India as veiled, mysterious, suppressed or wily, amorous and langourous. But fiction is fiction, not truth, and romance selects only what it wants from the stern realism of the facts of life. Intimate contact for over twelve years with the life and conditions of women in the angles and the centre of this triangular India have shown the writer Indian womanhood as veritable sister to the womanhood of the rest of the world, moved by the Time-Spirit to adjustment, change, expansion and freedom just as is womanhood elsewhere in these days, and something quite different from the imagination of novel-writers and the narrowed lens of hospitals through which a Miss Mayo has distorted it by false generalisations from a few individual facts and many mis-statements.

In the endless circle of time the ideals of the past are also the magnets of the future, and have their reproductions even in the present if we but have eyes to see. It is a guarantee of the characteristics of the women who live in India to-day and who will follow them to-morrow that the religious myths, the dramas, the folk-tales of India contain an array of goddesses and heroines

and women unexcelled by the literature of any other country for courage, self-reliance, self-sacrifice, martial leadership, scholarship, statemanship, and spiritual achievement, ideals embodied respectively in Padmini, Savitri, Sita, Ahalyabai, Lilavati, Nur Mahal, Maitreyi and many others. The first led 20,000 women who threw themselves from their ramparts into their burning fort rather than fall alive into the hands of their enemies ; the second chose her own husband even though she knew he was under a curse of death within a year, and won him back from the god of Death by her will and wits ; Sita is the ideal of endurance, purity and self-sacrifice ; the Marathi queen was a warrior ; Lilavati the Woman Senior Wrangler of Medieval times whose fame as a mathematician shines undimmed through the centuries ; the Muhammadan Princess wrote the firmans (laws) by which an inebriate Emperor prosperously ruled his people ; and Maitreyi defeated all comers in a philosophical discussion in the open forum of those far-off days of the Puranas.

The Passing of Freedom.

In the far far off days of the Vedas women were as free, as healthy, as well-educated, as honoured as men. The passage of time brought them restrictions, under the cramping rule of Hindu sacerdotalism, the tyranny of Brahmanism in the immediate post-Vedic times. The gospel of the Buddha set women free again and gave them the blessings of education and free unrestricted movement. A thousand years later internal dissensions opened the way for Muhammadan invasion, and wherever the Muslim dwelt the veiling and the seclusion of women became the custom, first through fashion, and now through pride of prestige. From then dates the darkness of the illiteracy of Indian womanhood, and it is certainly not to the credit of the present British Government that despite its hundred years of peaceful rule over India it has given literacy in their own mother-tongue to only a few per cent of the womanhood of India and only two per cent of India's womanhood, the lowest rate in the world for a people who are intensely sensitive and civilised, the heirs of all the ages, and yet untaught, untrained how to read or write, or count, unprovided with schools for the masses, though with colleges for the fortunate few.

The difficulty of describing the position of Indian womanhood to-day may be judged when one explains that while in Behar, one of the Indian Provinces, only four women out of every

thousand can read or write, and strict seclusion (purdah) holds sway over all but the poorest women, yet in Malabar among certain Hindu castes the system of matriarchy operates and the women are the freest in the world. All property belongs to the Malabar Hindu women, all succession is through the women, the choice of the husband is there made by the woman, and it is she who decides on divorce and re-marriage. Also in Malabar Hinduism marriage is neither religious nor a civil bond, but undertaken and dissolved at the instance of the adult woman, and continued only on terms of mutual affection and compatibility of temper. Yet again in another Province so prevalent is early marriage that one would not be wrong in saying that there is no girlhood there. The girls are all married before they are twelve and begin conjugal relations before they are fourteen. In still another Province, equally large, marriage does not take place till the girl is sixteen or seventeen. So everywhere variety is found.

The Situation To-day.

Yet despite all these contradictions there are certain generalisations which may be made with truth. It is well always to have in the back of the mind the fact that there are six million fewer women than men in India. This is so unlike the statistics of most countries that it gives a different colour to certain other facts, such as the strength of the insistence of public opinion that every girl must marry, and the greed there is on the part of the parents that she shall be provided with a husband at the earliest possible moment as a protection for her from kidnapping or possible molestation. It also explains the absence of any goad of economic necessity such as drives the surplus women of other countries into wage-earning, economic independence and the emergence of the system of natural selection of marriage partners rather than the system of marriage arranged by parents or match-makers. It is a disgrace to an Indian family if one of its girls is earning her living by her own efforts. This taboo is being relaxed in these days in the case of widows, whom national and social workers are calling upon to find means to support and sustain, teachers, social workers.

The appalling tragedy of India's womanhood is its illiteracy. The highest rate is only 175 per thousand and it goes as low as three per thousand. This is the rate for the simplest primary education. What will world students then think when they learn that only 13 out of every 10,000 girls receive secondary education!

The problem of primary education is the most urgent awaiting solution and a vital part of it is the inclusion in any scheme for compulsory primary education of schools for girls right from the beginning. The idea prevails that it will be time enough to teach the girls when all the boys have first got educational facilities! A financial factor in this psychology is that the custom of purdah by which all girls have to be conveyed to and from school in curtained vehicles makes the cost of the education of girls very high in the parts of India where purdah prevails.

Tradition and Culture.

Though unable to read or write the Indian woman even in the most remote village, is not dull, stupid, or actually ignorant. She has a culture and civilisation which has been handed down orally from generation to generation. The West derives most of its knowledge through the eye and depends on books; India learns through the ear and depends on memory. A knowledge of music, poetry, drama, free-hand design, religious story, metaphysical disquisition and philosophy is universal in India, but it has all continued through oral tradition and teaching.

Such subjects are, however, more cultural, more refining, more self-expressive than algebra, or commercial classes, or chemistry, or ordinary schools for primary education. In India the uses made of flowers and leaves by women are numberless and all evocative of fine taste, consideration of the feelings of others and the promotion of beauty. Music is a necessity of the daily ritual of their lives, not a luxury, an entertainment, or a cover for conversation. Similarly, drawing is included in the qualifications of both a woman servant and her mistress, for outside the door of the house a geometrical figure must daily be outlined in rice powder or wet lime, this being the evocation of beauty which acts as the invitation to the Goddess of the Household, Lakshmi, to step on to that carpet of design from her car of Night and thus to enter the Home and give it her blessing.

Similarly the drama is the living picture book from which the great ethical lessons of life are taught century after century to the Indian woman. The dramas are always sung, and the words are in poetic form. Women flock to these performances, and there imbibe the arts of gesture, rhythmic movement, colour and grouping, and acting itself. When Indian women become themselves actresses they will be a world inspiration to the stage, for their histrionic talents are very pronounced.

1. Heritage of Suffering.

Graceful, cultured, refined, modest, quiet, intelligent, intuitive, the Indian woman of every grade, but hard, unassertive, self-effacing to a fault, and above all, (in all but the outdoor working class) delicate.

Parallel with this illiteracy is the ill-health of India's womanhood. Lack of free air, ignorance of hygienic facilities, insufficiency of medical and maternity aid, poverty, early motherhood, inadequate rest, crowded by birth, all these things disease-brother to the innocent wife, all these combine with the difficulties of the tropical climate to create a heart-rending percentage of suffering women in all the Indian castes. There is only one woman doctor on an average for every million people; there are proportionately few trained sick-nurses, and the training of midwives in modern hygienic methods is only in its first stages of organisation on any large scale. The result is that the number of young wives who die is greater than in any other country, and that one out of every three babies born dies within its first year of life. The institution throughout India of an annual Health Week which includes Baby Shows, and many forms of health propaganda both for men and women, is changing public opinion and causing it to revolt against a state of ill-health in which it formerly acquiesced passively and philosophically. People are now demanding better houses, better drains, purer water, more free and efficient medical and trained maternity aid. Another decade will see a remarkable improvement in the health of India's adult womanhood, for every agency is working towards this end, though they do not always co-operate in the work to the point which would shorten the time of transition. For instance, the Government is encouraging the promotion of hospitals, but lacking legislation to prevent marriage of girls before twelve, though the immaturity and weakness of the mothers that helps to fill the hospital beds.

The fate of widows in India is very hard, but it is yearly improving. A hundred years ago a wrong interpretation of some sacred teachings decreed that a wife should follow her husband into the next world at his death by throwing herself into his funeral pyre. Such dreadful suicides were upheld by public opinion as holy martyrdoms worthy of all praise. Now these immolations are illegal, and the fashion of thought of the people and their leaders has completely changed on the subject. The

burning of witches in Europe and the burning of widows in India was a mood of ignorant, fanatical, religious madness which seems incredible as fact at the present day, and without doubt the fashion of early marriage will in the near future seem equally criminal and demented. Nowadays widows are being trained as public servants, teachers, nurses, doctors, welfare workers, and are becoming the leaders of progressive thought and action.

The Grace of Gentleness.

As compensation for lack of robust strength and the intellectual vigour of education, Nature has endowed her Indian daughters with superlative graces of gentleness. The eastern woman's belief that supreme happiness results from utter service to her husband, whom she is taught to regard as a God (on the same principle as Milton's "He for God only, she for God in him"), gives her a purity and quiet sweetness not similarly found in other nations. It also gives a distinctive quality to her self-sacrifice. All women are self-sacrificing; but the element of fatalism (Karma, or the Will of God in Kismet) gives a peculiar grace of resignation to the patience with which all Indian women bear suffering. They are so resigned they would not have so many calls on their powers of resignation; — but that is the western, not the eastern point of view! Nothing can exceed the graceful gentleness of the Indian woman, Hindu, Muhamadan or Parsi, whether she is showing it in the details of hospitality in which she is so free-handed, or in serving her husband with food (no matter how late he may arrive she will not eat a bite herself till he is served by her), or in sharing in the religious ceremonies in which her importance as mother gives her an essential part, or in her care of her children, who are her living jewels, or in her respect and veneration for her parents, in whose presence she will not sit down unless by their permission, or finally in her devotions at the shrines of her deities, where her deeply religious nature shows itself fully.

Indian Motherhood -- Present and Future.

The Hindu worships the Mother. The Power side of life is represented by the Goddess Shakti. The feminine is not thought of by the Indian metaphysician as the "weaker sex", but as the driving force, the motive power, the core of Being. A Brahmin man is not allowed by his religion to perform sacred ceremonies

unless in the presence and with the consent and co-operation of his wife. Neither partner is considered the complete spiritual being without the complementary half. This attitude to the feminine permeates all aspects of human activity, and has saved India from the crass cruelty of masculine monopoly that accounts for the struggle women in England, for example, had to obtain the suffrage. In India a woman *may* do what she *can* do. If she wants anything and has shown that she is capable of using it she will be given it practically for the asking — from the men of her own race. The only thing needed for the rapid advance of social reform in India is for her women to get enough education of the right sort to rouse them into thinking for themselves and then demanding. The mothers of India will then mother India with intelligence, purity and power, and hold aloft an ideal of quiet, kindly, philosophic, humane, cultured civilisation such as the modern world is groping towards.

The speed with which women's opportunities are changing in India is almost incredible. Within three years of the first request for the franchise rights of Indian women, the vote was given to the Madras Presidency (as large as Great Britain) on terms of exact equality with men; and throughout India, with the exception of one small and most backward Province, now women have taken their place as co-partners with men in public life. An Indian poetess, Sarojini Naidu, has been President of the Indian National Congress, the most important all-Indian political institution in India, and has also acted as diplomatic Ambassadors of India to South Africa. The woman nominated to the Legislative Council of Madras was unanimously elected by her colleagues to be Deputy-Speaker of the Council; a Woman Member of the Legislative Council of an important Indian State was its Minister of Health for two years.

Women in Public Life -- A Ready Welcome.

There is a remarkable desire being shown by public bodies to include women amongst their members. The Municipal Councils lead in this, and in certain Provinces and capital cities such as Bombay and Madras women now sit in the Councils both as nominated and elected members. There are now nearly fifty women serving as Honorary Magistrates and Justices of the Peace. Indian women are also barristers and lawyers, doctors, professors, graduates of the highest standing in all subjects, nominated and elected Senators of Universities and Education Councils,

important organisers of Public Health movements, Girl-Guiding, and political meetings. Last year women gathered from all parts of Hindusthan to formulate their demands for reform in the present educational system of India. This All-India Conference was a notable success, and proved that women with vision and practical capacity were awake to the fundamental need of their country. They demanded the restoration of "moral training, based on spiritual ideals" in all schools and colleges, compulsory primary education for every child, medical inspection of all students, the teaching of sex hygiene in high schools and colleges, the inclusion of a number of subjects suitable to girls as optionals in higher education, and a whole course of homecraft subjects to be encouraged as alternative to the courses which are open equally to boys and girls.

The Hour of Awakening.

There is spring in the heart of Indian womanhood. They have been asleep, dulled by the darkness of ignorance and self-depreciation, but the Time-Spirit has aroused them and they are rising up, wide awake, refreshed by their rest, eager to test their strength, zealous to lead and to reform, full of the spirit of service and self-sacrifice, allowing no limits to be put to their duty of bringing the characteristics and gifts of true motherhood from the primary circle of the home life right out to the circumference of public, national and international life.

Only those who have lived long and intimately amongst the women of India can appreciate the change that is flooding the lives of our Indian sisters, bearing them forth to freedom, literacy, creative activity of all kinds, and all tinctured, nay, sprung from the fountain of spiritual realisation, for the Indian woman's source of strength is ever her sense of the Eternal.

India, a Land of Villages

By MASON OLCOTT.

For unknown centuries India has been overwhelmingly rural, with a small but important urban fringe. The startling discoveries of the last six years at Mohenjo-daro and Harappa have brought to light the fact that, more than three milleniums before Christ, the cultivators of the Indus Valley produced food on a large scale both for themselves and the highly cultural city dwellers. During the last 5,000 years the rainfall of Sind and the Western Punjab has decreased substantially, but the villages in that and other parts of India have ever since continued to form the basis of the life of civilised cities. Time and again the townspeople have been put to the sword by the fierce vengeance of invading armies, while the villagers have often continued their quiet life close to God's fragrant earth.

The Old Self-Governing Village Community.

§

Until two or three centuries ago, the peasants of each village were remarkably self-sufficient, producing their own food, clothing and the necessities of simple living. They had few commercial or political dealings with the outside world, except to pay a part of their crops to a distant king. They judged and governed themselves through a council of elders, or panchayat. Unfortunately such councils were deprived of most of their powers a century ago. Their judicial functions have been absorbed by distant law courts, where no one knows the complicated rules of evidence but the judges and the grasping lawyers. As a result, with some exceptions, the village is gradually or uselessly being run down, and the decision often goes to the highest bidder. Attempts are now being made to hand back to the village panchayats the petty judicial powers which need never have been taken from them.

In the olden days, the people regularly worked together for common ends, such as keeping irrigation channels and tanks in repair; now such joint labour is neglected, to the great detriment

of the crops. The village headman, accountants, teacher, artisans and servants used to be paid in kind from the produce of the whole village, but such customs have died out. The present headman is appointed and trained by the revenue officials for the service he will render to them. Many well developed handicrafts, including the spinning, weaving and stamping of cotton were forced to the wall by the determined competition of British factories.

The Indian village still remains the most important single factor in India's life, in spite of the weakening of village solidarity. Those travellers who see only the Indian cities and towns do not see India's real life. Nine out of ten people live in the 700,000 villages. Three out of four families get their living from the produce of farm and pasture. Agricultural workers form ten times as large a proportion of the population as in England.

The Irrigation Problem.

The villages of India have cast their spell over us who are familiar with them. How much more human is their life than the frenzied turmoil of the dusty cities that ape the bad points of the West! Many townspeople are caught in the mad scramble for wealth and position, but the villagers have time to be friendly. They are not engaged in the mad scramble for money, but are content with their simple life. They are not engaged in the mad scramble for money, but are content with their simple life. They are not engaged in the mad scramble for money, but are content with their simple life. Would that you who read this page could come to my home within a hundred yards of a South Indian village and watch with me the sun rising over a blue hill and throwing his golden beams on the picturesque village houses with their mud walls and thatched roofs. Come and see the waving palm trees between the vivid green rice fields. Was there ever such a green on land or sea — a green that shouts aloud the joy of fresh, pulsing life! Whence comes this verdant life? From the water that flows through channels from a river, or is lifted up in buckets by the plodding cattle or by the agile men balancing themselves on a precarious see-saw. Where water is abundant, the smiling fields bring forth a hundred-fold, two and three crops a year. A rainy day brings joy, not gloom. But if the monsoons fail, the people starve and die; or else they move away to factory, mine, or plantation. Emigrants from India are found in every continent of the globe, four-fifths of them from the Madras Presidency; most of them are members of the depressed classes who could no longer endure their grinding economic serfdom.

Large irrigation works have been carried through, but they do not meet the situation fully. You who have seen the Punjab, can you forget the crops of wheat and cotton watered from the eternal snows of the Himalayas, growing within a few feet of useless wastes of burning sand? The cultivators of the South benefit not only from Government irrigation but also from tens of thousands of wells and tanks (or reservoirs), some of them dating back over a thousand years. Altogether 45 million acres in India are irrigated, but this is only one-fifth of the area sown with crops. The rest of the area must depend on a very uncertain and irregular rainfall. For all India the average is 45 inches, ranging from 4 inches at Jacobabad in the Northwest to over a hundred inches along the Southwest coast and parts of North-east India. The rainiest place in the world is Cherrapunji in Assam, with an annual average of 458 inches and a record of 75 feet of rain in one year!

Economic Problems and Co-operation.

Hearty co-operation between the villagers themselves can improve their economic life in many ways. Like farmers all the world over, they are slow to combine with others, especially in novel enterprises. Rural life is not now organized for efficient production. Most of the year the peasants work from dawn to dusk in the blazing sun, but their labour brings but a mere pittance because of their ignorance, wasteful methods and customs, weak health and deficient co-operation with others. In large areas of India, the plots of many cultivators are so small and scattered as to make individual cultivation unprofitable. There are great possibilities in the joint use of bullocks, ploughs and other implements and in the pooling of practical information about crops. The village people can also earn money on the side by means of simple industries in addition to agriculture. These handicrafts may be carried on during spare moments and in slack seasons, which usually last for two or three months. Such cottage industries must be closely adapted to the locality, and must produce goods in some way better than machine goods. Co-operative marketing is also a mine of unmeasured wealth. The small farmer with no facilities for storage is completely at the mercy of the grain dealer who pockets all the profits, buying cheaply and selling at a high rate, even to the very cultivator from whom he bought. He is usually also the village money lender who extorts all he can squeeze from the poor

cultivator, sometimes charging interest at 50 per cent. The usurer is very grasping, but except where co-operative societies operate there is no substitute for him in rural areas. Co-operative credit when laxly administered does as much harm as good, but well run societies are performing an increasingly important service to the villages. Co-operation has had many excellent by-products, such as the encouragement of adult education, thrift and the settlement of disputes out of court.

Thus the greatest hope for the economic advancement of the villagers is more wholehearted co-operation. Charity showered on them from outside cannot produce any lasting benefit. But once the cultivators organize themselves for the welfare of all the village, the money lenders, grain dealers, dishonest lawyers and petty officials will cease to prey upon them. The villager, though ground down by poverty, dwells in a rich land containing great potential resources in iron, coal, oil, gold, maganese, forests, agricultural crops and animals. India has rich power reserves not only from coal and oil but from water and the sun. The greatest undeveloped resource of all is human power.

Poverty and Disease.

Disease and death are terrible drains on the villager. He likes personal cleanliness and bathes frequently, but lives in filthy surroundings. He is devoted to his family, but tolerates the piles of dust and rubbish near his home which bring them disease. Fortunately for our brother the villager, the sun of India kills germs more effectively than the sun in countries where his rays are less direct and more blocked by clouds. Were it not for the sun, the death rate would be even higher than it now is, nearly 30 per 1000. On the whole the villages are slightly more healthy than the towns. Plague and cholera make terrible ravages in the country, but they cause even more deaths in towns, where the people are crowded together in insanitary dwellings. However, the influenza scourge which destroyed twelve million lives in 1918 and 1919, made even more dreadful havoc in rural than urban areas. Many villages had not one survivor. When an epidemic threatens, the villager frantically sacrifices a cock or a goat to the village demoness. In addition to such appalling pestilences, are the grim spectres of famine waiting on the threshold of many rural homes ready to pay an accustomed visit. Less feared are the million diseases that day after day, year after year, undermine the vitality of India's peasants and unfit

them for working or thinking. Malaria and kala-azar fever and hookworm do untold damage of this kind. Being less noticeable than a violent epidemic, they are harder to control and probably do more harm. Fevers alone account for four million deaths a year.

Poverty and ignorance bring about insufficiency of food, contaminated water and dirty housing conditions. These, together with gross superstitions and early marriage, bring about illness and death. A large part of the deaths are preventable, but adequate medical treatment is scarcely known in the villages. In addition to medical service, a broad programme of rural reconstruction must be put into effect before the villagers can have abundant lives free from the constant dread of disease.

Caste and Untouchability.

In the villages, caste has been weakened in only a few minor points, while many of the caste associations have become stronger and better organized. Conservative Hinduism, centering as it does in caste, is far more firmly entrenched in the villages than in the towns. The city temples, like New York theatres, thrive from the patronage of rural people. The narrowly exclusive and reactionary influence of caste is a dead weight on all the forms of progress and brotherly co-operation that India desires. Caste differs radically from class in European countries, for caste is based on binding religious sanctions. The caste into which a man is born is supposed to be an infallible index of the progress of his soul through its wearisome round of re-births. A man is a Brahman because he has been a holy ascetic in an earlier birth. An outcaste must have been a criminal. A man's present life and his religious duties are determined not by the actions of this life, but by the caste in which he happened to be born. The poisonous tap-root of caste is this religious basis.

Few reformers have struck at this root but many have tried to lop off such harmful branches as "Untouchability." Between forty and sixty million people belong to the depressed classes who are forced to live outside the villages in wretched hovels. The orthodox Hindu thinks himself defiled by their touch and excludes them from his temples and even from the public roads and treats them as the scum of the earth. In Travancore the caste man forbids the lowest outcasts to approach within a hundred feet of him under pain of severe penalties. No wonder that Mahatma Gandhi, using all his great influence as a man of pious

self-sacrifice, has steadily fought to destroy this poisonous branch of the caste system. Millions of outcasts have embraced Christianity and Islam in order to be treated as men and brothers. Between 1911 and 1921 the number of Hindus remained stationary while Christians increased by 22 per cent and Moslems by 5 per cent. The same period doubled the ranks of the Arya Somajists who purify outcasts by performing over them the ancient Vedic ceremonies, part of which consists in the outcast eating the holy cow-dung.

The Need for Education.

More than ever before, unity in social life is required now when the franchise has been suddenly extended to five million men and women, large numbers of whom are illiterate villagers. These new voters need to learn to judge candidates on their real merits, not on any selfish sectarian or caste prejudice. The smouldering antagonism between Hindu and Moslem all over India, and between Brahman and non-Brahman in the Madras and Bombay Presidencies has recently been fanned into flame by political, communal, religious and social forces. The divisions that cut at the root of our progress need a more adequate education, primarily in character, secondarily in the ability to read and write. Much that goes by the name of education turns out only selfish snobs with over-stuffed memories and under-developed practical abilities. Village education has been badly neglected, but it can be neglected no longer with safety. Heavy sacrifices must be made to educate the masses in order to avoid control either by ignorant mobs or by selfish oligarchies. No narrow training of the mind will do, only broad education of heart and head and hand. Not merely a few children but all the villagers need to be educated to appreciate and do the best things together with others. In that way lies constructive unity.

From Darkness into Light.

Beneath the villager's crude idolatry and worship of spirits in stones and trees, is an unquenchable longing for the Spirit of God. One illiterate Telugu outcast by his spirituality brought thousands of people to Christ. The ancient prayer of the *Upanishads* has echoed again and again in the hearts of the pious ascetic and simple villager : " From darkness lead me to the light, from the unreal lead me to the real, from death lead me to immortality. "

roupies ont été gaspillés de la sorte. A l'heure actuelle il est question de rétablir les Panchayats dans les villages et de les investir à nouveau de l'autorité qui n'aurait jamais dû leur être enlevée.

Autrefois aussi, les villageois travaillaient en commun lorsqu'il s'agissait d'améliorer l'irrigation ou les réservoirs d'eau. Au grand détriment des récoltes, cette coutume a malheureusement disparu, comme celle du paiement en nature aux domestiques, ouvriers, voire même au chef du village. Certaines industries qui avaient atteint un grand développement, telles le filage, le tissage et le piétinement du coton, ont été submergées par l'âpre concurrence des filatures britanniques.

Néanmoins, le village reste un des facteurs les plus importants de la vie économique de l'Inde. Les voyageurs qui n'ont visité que les villes de ce pays, en oubliant de visiter le milieu de la véritable vie du pays, le 90 % de la population étant répartie dans les villages.

L'eau joue un grand rôle dans ce beau pays, où le vert magnifique des champs de riz et des palmiers enchante l'œil. Elle coule en abondance par les nombreux canaux des fleuves ou bien elle est charriée dans des seaux par le bétail ou de lestes travailleurs. Plus la contrée est riche en eau, plus elle est fertile et peut donner jusqu'à trois récoltes par an.

De grands travaux d'irrigation ont été entrepris, mais jusqu'à présent seule la cinquième partie du territoire ensemencé de l'Inde est irriguée. Dans la province du Pendjab, les champs de céréales et de coton sont arrosés par les canaux de l'Indus. Au sud, les travaux de l'Etat ont été hélas interrompus par la guerre. Les gouvernements, en ne consacrant qu'une faible somme à l'entretien des canaux et des réservoirs.

Quant au reste du pays, il ne peut compter jusqu'à présent que sur des pluies irrégulières et problématiques.

Une étroite collaboration entre les villageois contribuerait à améliorer la situation économique du pays. Comme les agriculteurs du monde entier, ceux de l'Inde ont besoin d'outils et de machines modernes et d'implémentations variées. L'approvisionnement de ces villages en machines et autres instruments aratoires serait un pas en avant.

Des sociétés dites « Coopératives » ont été fondées un peu partout dans les villages afin d'empêcher les petits fermiers d'être à la merci des marchands de grains et des usuriers. Ces coopératives avancent des fonds au petit cultivateur, (à des conditions équitables). Elles encouragent l'épargne, favorisent l'instruction des adultes et tranchent certaines questions litigieuses.

L'Inde a d'immenses richesses en fer, charbon, huile, ébène, forêts, céréales, etc. Elle a en outre de grandes ressources d'eau et de soleil. Sa richesse la moins développée est celle de la force humaine.

Bien que le villageois soit propre sur sa personne et se baigne fréquemment, il n'est pas exempt de saletés et de maladies, et surtout des maux à microbes. Sans le soleil qui en tue la plupart par la chaleur, le taux de la mortalité qui est de 120, serait sans doute plus élevé. Les moustiques et autres bestioles nuisibles, qui servent de vecteurs à certaines maladies, font beaucoup de victimes. Le choléra et la peste se passent en général plus violemment à la ville qu'à la campagne.

Un service d'hygiène approprié aux circonstances contribuerait à diminuer les causes de maladies et de décès et à élever la population des villages encore ignorante et superstitieuse.

Social Service in India

By V. VENKATASUBBAYYA.

The urge for social service is deep seated in human nature. It is not confined to any particular race, country or civilization. A professor from England, speaking recently on the theory of evolution to a Madras audience, rightly stressed the point that love, sympathy and the instinct for self-sacrifice had played a far greater part in the evolution of human society than the opposite qualities. The societies which had survived in the struggle for existence were not those that contained the largest number of persons "good at killing" but those that were "good at self-sacrifice." This is profoundly true, and as a corollary it may be stated that in all enduring societies, philanthropy, charity or the desire to serve one's fellow-beings is widely diffused. Social service is not peculiarly eastern or western. It is human, like all virtues. The precise forms in which this instinct expresses itself naturally vary with the environment and the genius of the people concerned. The forms prevalent among a people also change when their ideas change. Service which is institutional or becomes institutional and what is being done by private institutions is often taken up by the community at large or the State. The provision of education and of medical relief illustrates the point. Let us be careful therefore not to conclude that because an institution which is familiar to us in our own country is not found in a certain other country, the service for which our institution is intended is altogether neglected in that country. In all likelihood it is provided for in a form different from ours but more in keeping with the genius of that country.

The Indian Way.

The above reflections came to the present writer with some force on account of an incident which occurred recently. In the first week of November last, a portion of the east coast of Madras Presidency was devastated by a severe cyclone, in the wake of which cholera broke out in a virulent form in many

villages. Naturally a large number of children were orphaned and steps were taken to start an orphanage at Nellore, the District headquarters, and also to send some of the orphans to institutions outside the District. Money was forthcoming both from Government and private sources, but when men went round to collect the orphans, to everybody's surprise, few children could be had. The relations and men of the castes to which the children belonged kept them and refused to send them out of their villages. "Where so many of us live, will there not be food enough for these orphans, Sir? It will be a shame to send them out of the village. They will grow up with our children and also work with them." This was the reply given everywhere. It shows that Indian society has its own way of solving the question of orphans.

Religion, irrespective of creed, has always encouraged good deeds — deeds of love, sympathy and service to others. Hinduism in India encouraged the digging of wells and tanks, the construction of rest houses where the homeless and travellers could seek shelter and find food, the planting of groves, etc. Every considerable village also maintained a schoolmaster and a physician. The physician was prohibited from charging a fee, so that the poor might have no difficulty in getting aid in time of need. In some parts of the country institutions for the care of domestic animals not wanted by their owners developed into a striking feature. Water and drinks were served to passers-by at convenient centres. Every house-holder was enjoined to give food, at least a morsel of it, to any one who presented himself at his door, whether at noon or at night. Relations, near or distant, and the members of various castes looked after their helpless kith and kin. These ideas and institutions are still strong in Hindu society and much social service is done through them.

Learning From the West.

This does not mean that new ideas, especially western ideas, are not exerting their influence. The example of the foreign Christian missionaries, of whom there are some 6,000 in India, is having a great effect. It is their work among the depressed classes — the Hindus of the lowest castes — that is creating a profound change in the attitude of the higher castes towards their less fortunate brethren and inducing them to adopt various measures for their amelioration. The example of the foreign missionaries is also leading to a greater appreciation of the

missionary ideal, not only among the Indian Christians but also among others. Some of them are giving their life-long services in a religious spirit to educational and other institutions, though these latter have nothing to do with any religion.

An attempt is made below to give some idea of the kind of social service that is being done by institutions supported and manned entirely by Indians. The traditional forms already mentioned still persist and are spread over the whole country. In addition there are numerous educational and other institutions the benefits of which are intended for particular castes and communities. With them we shall not concern ourselves at present. The institutions mentioned below are modern in every sense of the word and owe their existence almost entirely to the influence of western ideas. They are chosen rather as types and should not be looked upon as the only institutions of their kind existing in a vast country. They may be classified for convenience under three heads: (1) religious organisations which have a large programme of social work, like foreign missionary organisations, (2) secular institutions which have social service of a general character as their object, and (3) institutions which confine themselves to certain forms or aspects of social service.

Work Done By Indian Religious Organisations.

(1) Following the example of foreign missionary societies, the Indian Christians have started some missions of their own and are working in some areas not occupied by other Christian missions. Their programme of evangelistic and social work is similar to that of the foreign missions, but naturally less extensive, as their resources in men and money are more limited. The Arya Samajists are a sect of reformed Hindus who uphold the Vedic ideals, take converts from other religions and have a vigorous missionary organisation. Their home is in the Punjab, but their work has extended to every part of India. They are exercising a great influence in weakening the caste system, improving the position of women, raising the age of marriage among girls, promoting widow marriages and spreading education of every grade. But perhaps their most valuable social work is the removal of the stigma attached to the "depressed classes." "These are put through a ceremony called the "Suddhi" or purification, and are treated as the social equals of the other Samajists, the benefits of education, spiritual ministrations, etc., being enjoyed by them in an equal degree with

others. The Prarthana Samajists of Bombay and the Brahma Samajists of Bengal are other reformed Hindus, consisting chiefly of highly educated individuals, who have done away with caste, have given to women an equal position with men and are doing evangelistic and social work among the poorer classes through their missionaries. They are, however, far less numerous than the Arya Samajists and their influence is consequently much less, though not proportionately so. The Ramakrishna Mission — which preaches the fellowship of all religions and the Vedanta philosophy, and consists of Hindu monks and lay helpers and with which is associated the name of the late Swami Vivekananda — is another religious organisation with a considerable programme of social service. It has many "Sevashrams" or houses of service, hospitals, dispensaries and educational institutions. Mention may also be made in this connection of the Theosophical Society, which though international in character, has its headquarters in India and has a predominating Indian membership. In addition to important educational work, it is organising the women and youth of India for social service of various kinds.

Secular Social Service Institutions.

(2) The institutions coming under this head are the social service leagues that have been started in many of our towns and cities. Their programme generally consists of starting night schools, organising magic lantern lectures and starting co-operative credit societies for the benefit of the poorest classes and improving the sanitation of the localities where they dwell. The largest and best known among them — of which the Bombay Social Service League, the Sevan Samiti of Allahabad and the Bengal Social Service League are examples — have a wider and more varied programme. For adult education the Bombay Social Service League has got a large number of magic lantern slides especially prepared on hygiene, sanitation, history, mythology, co-operation and other subjects. It has also developed a system of travelling libraries, which consist of different sets of a hundred well-chosen books in the vernacular, kept in a trunk and moved from one block of tenements to another at intervals of two or three weeks. It also arranges excursions and open air sports for the children of the slums, looks after discharged prisoners and first offenders, conducts a large number of co-operative societies, does intensive social work in blocks of tene-

ments and conducts welfare work in certain cotton mills at the instance of the mill-owners. The League has started two or three centres where work on the lines of the university settlements of the west is carried on — with a characteristic Indian feature added, viz. devotional meetings with *Kirthans* and *Burans*. It possesses an excellent library, conducts a quarterly journal and has enrolled some life-workers. The Seva Samiti of Allahabad has a large number of affiliated institutions in the United Provinces, Rajputana, the Punjab and Behar. Two activities are peculiar to it. It has an efficient department for spreading the scout movement among boys and for training scout-masters. It enrolls volunteers, several hundreds of them, on occasions of *mela* or religious fairs, to help in various ways the pilgrims who gather there to bathe in hundreds of thousands in order to bathe in sacred Ganges at particular places on particular days. A large portion of the crowd consists of ignorant women from the villages, brought up under the *purdah*, who, once they get separated from their relations, fall an easy prey to scoundrels and are never found again. In the past many girls used to get lost in this manner at every *mela* and ultimately swell the ranks of prostitutes in colonies and plantations. In co-operation with the authorities, the Seva Samiti volunteers have been able to put an end to this evil. A characteristic feature of the Bengal Social Service League is that it sends out well equipped medical volunteers to fight cholera, malaria and *kala azar* or black fever, and organises health exhibitions at various places.

Work for the Depressed Classes and Educational Efforts.

(3) Under this category may be mentioned those organisations which have the amelioration of the depressed classes as their sole object and certain others of a special nature whose object is educational. The former kind of associations are many and their activities are chiefly local. There is a Depressed Classes Mission at Poona, another at Mangalore on the West Coast, a third at Madras, and so on. It is not claimed that all of them are working quite efficiently. Their programme consists of starting day and night schools, with free boarding arrangements in some cases, promoting abstinence from drink, starting co-operative societies, helping the people to obtain un-occupied land from Government and persuading them to lead a cleaner life and practice a higher form of religion. Most educated Indians are keen on improving the lot of these men, but none

more so than Mr. Gandhi. Most of the provincial Governments and some of the advanced Indian States like Mysore and Baroda have taken up their cause with zeal and are creating special facilities for their moral and material uplift. Of educational institutions of a special nature may be mentioned here some which are found in Poona, the chief feature of which is that they are manned by life workers. These are highly qualified persons who have joined their respective institutions in a missionary spirit, undertaking to serve them for life or for a period of at least twenty years on a small salary. The oldest of these institutions is the Deccan Education Society, which was formed in the early eighties with the object of bringing higher education within the reach of comparatively poor people. The society maintains two first grade colleges, manned entirely by life workers and affiliated to the Bombay University, one of which, the Ferguson College, is among the largest institutions of the kind in India, having a strength of more than 1500 undergraduates. Some of the most honoured public men of India, such as Ranade, Gokale, Tilak, Dr. Paranjape were intimately connected with this society. Another life worker institution is the Life Worker's University, which is the fruit of the devoted labours of Prof. Karve. After completing his term of twenty years in the Deccan Education Society, he started in a very humble way a boarding school for Hindu widows so that they may become teachers and support themselves honourably instead of being a burden on their relations. At the same time he afforded facilities for the education of un-married girls. It is a private University, that is to say, not one of the Universities recognised by the State. The instruction in all the subjects is in the vernaculars, English being taught as a second language. Another institution to be mentioned here is the Seva Sadan of Poona. "Seva Sadan" means the home of service. Its object is to provide general and vocational education for women and girls. It trains women for social work and organises such work in different places. The general education classes are meant for those who have to attend to domestic work and find leisure only in the afternoon. A large number are trained as teachers, doctors, health visitors, nurses and midwives. Its work is growing every day. It has at present about a dozen branches, chiefly in Bombay Presidency. Apart from its educational activities it is conducting a home for helpless women, two crèches for children in mills, and several maternity hospitals and child-welfare centres.

The Servants of India Society.

One other Poona institution which may be mentioned here is the Servants of India Society, founded by the late Mr. Gokhale, of which after him the Rt. Hon. V.S. Srinivasa Sastri was until recently the president. Its members pledge themselves to serve the country for life in a religious spirit under the direction of the Society ; but the Society does not concern itself with the religious beliefs of its members. Some of them are devoting themselves to politics but others to social service in a broad sense. Some of the institutions mentioned above — the Social Service League of Bombay, the Seva Samiti of Allahabad and the Seva Sadan of Poona — are inspired and guided by members of this society. They are doing missionary work among the Bhils in Gujarat and rural welfare work in Madras. In a vast country like India, with all degrees of temperature and rainfall, floods, failure of rains and epidemics are only too frequent. On such occasions the Servants of India Society and several of the other bodies mentioned above organise non-official relief and co-operate with the authorities.

Even at the risk of repetition, the present writer would add that what is attempted above is not a thorough survey of the social service work that is being done at present in India. Only some typical institutions are mentioned, and a very meagre account of their work is given. The writer's object has been to give within the compass of an article some idea of what is being attempted by Indians themselves.

The Church of Christ in India

By N. MACNICOL.

If Christ is indeed, as the old mystic said, "the root in every man" — and this is assuredly one of the bed-rock convictions of our faith — then, when from that root the first green shoots thrust their way above the earth, the Church of Christ is born. Until life has asserted its presence by growth, until, to change the metaphor, the sleeping Christ within the soul of a race or people stirs and wakes to life and to activity, the Church is only a potency, a prophet's vision for days that are yet to come. It is a great hour in a nation's history when the watcher is able, lifting up his eyes upon the fields, to perceive not by faith alone, but sight, that they have begun to clothe themselves in greenness. "The Great Church awakes," the Bishop of Bombay told us recently, looking out upon the world. I think we can claim that in some of the missionary lands at the present time this awakening of the Christ that has so long slept in men's drugged souls is taking place, this coming into real being and consciousness of the Church of Christ. And one of the lands where this can be seen, unless desire deceives us, is surely India. It is so easy for our longings to mislead us, and yet the signs seem unmistakable that indicate a real quiver of life, a real stir and movement both among those in that land whom the Church acknowledges and among not a few who are unacknowledged and outside. The time therefore seems not inopportune for us to examine the situation more closely and to consider whether these things are indeed the tokens of growth they appear, and if so to enquire further whereto they will grow. If not Brahma but Christ is awaking in India, then we may hope that a new Yuga, a new Age of power, is about to dawn.

Beginnings and History.

There has been a church in India for at least fifteen hundred years. Whether or not St. Thomas sold himself into slavery that he might carry to that land the message of Christ, some messenger — if not he then another, — brought it across the

Arabian Sea from Syria and established that Syrian Church that remains in Travancore to this day. It has remained a small Church and divided ; it has shown little power of growth ; and yet that it springs from the Root which is Christ and draws its life from Him, is proved by the fact that, through the barren and troubled centuries, it has lived on. Thus it comes about that of the 4,745,000 Christians of all kinds in India and Burma nearly one-fourth are to be found in the States of Travancore and Cochin. That total makes the Christian religion the fourth largest in India and Burma in the number of those who profess it — though far, of course, behind the two dominant religions — and the third largest in India alone.

Next in seniority to the Syrian Church comes the Roman Church. Roman Catholicism began its history in Indian with the coming of the Portuguese in 1478, and first among its apostles in the passion of his devotion to Christ, — a Christ whom we to-day may perceive more truly but certainly not more lovingly — was St. Francis Xavier. A third era in the growth of the Church was marked, on the one hand, by the publication in 1820 by Raja Ram Mohan Roy of "The Precepts of Jesus the Guide to Peace and Happiness" and, on the other, by the coming to India at the end of the 18th century and the beginning of the 19th of the first Protestant missionaries, heralds of an increasing multitude, — among them Carey the Bible translator and Duff the Christian educator. Through the 19th century two Christian streams have flowed by these two channels throughout the land, one underground and unnoted, the other manifest to the eyes of all, but both of them elements that have gone to the making of the Church of Christ that India is coming now to know and that is coming now to know herself. Only the 4,754,000 of whom mention has already been made can be numbered as within the Christian Church. How many there are besides into whose hearts "by secret sluice" the Spirit of Christ has flowed and who, perhaps largely unconsciously, are governed by Him and are members of His Body, we cannot tell. Probably those truly controlled by Him and effectively united to Him are few. In India, as elsewhere, there are many who call themselves Christians but, "whose life breaks through and spits at their creed". There are many also as elsewhere, who pay to Him a fitful allegiance, knowing Him a little, reverencing Him more, but following Him only at a distance, and often unawares. Such "half-believers of a casual creed" and indeed all who refuse to be called by His name, we must leave out of our account in this

brief study. There are 4,754,000 in India and Burma who, in one sort or another, reckon themselves Christians, and by what these are we must judge the present, and conjecture the future of the Church of Christ in India. But it is specially to those who are non-Roman that we shall direct attention, and it must be mainly by what we know of them that our conclusions shall be governed. Our survey must accordingly be incomplete, but thus limited, the Church we are considering numbers a membership of 2,730,000.

A Refuge for the Outcast.

The first question we must ask in regard to this Church is as to the witness of her life. Can she be said to be in India fulfilling the Christ's calling and so to be "continuing the incarnation"? To answer this question aright one must realise the elements that have gone to the making of the Indian Church. We must note the fact that Christianity, being a message of redemption from every enslaving evil, has in all history drawn to it first the most oppressed and most despairing. There is no country where there are more to be so drawn than there are in India. As soon therefore as the message of Christ came to be in any measure realised and its hope to shine, however dimly, eager multitudes turned towards it. The first, indeed, to enter the Church were not of that sort; they came as single spies finding truth, falling in love with the divine beauty. They were usually men of high caste, and of outstanding ability and strength of character. They were few, but they lighted a torch here and there; and here and there the flame of these torches spread to a conflagration. It was among the "depressed" and "untouchable" classes who are usually reckoned in India as numbering sixty millions that these forest fires broke forth. There is no need to describe the condition of contempt to which these people are condemned. It is enough to say that they dare not drink from the same wells as their fellows-Hindus and that they dare not worship in the same temples. A story which Mr. Gandhi tells and which, he says, reveals "our shame and their shame" gives a hint of the demoralising consequences that have followed from such treatment. He tells how in Orissa a man "with a half-bent back, wearing only a dirty loin-cloth" came crouching before him. "He picked up a straw and put it in his mouth and then lay flat on his face with arms outstretched." It is these unhappy despised people who have within the last forty

years thronged into the Christian Church. It has opened the gate of hope for them. The result is that the Census of 1921 reports that there were in that year two and a half times as many Indian Christians as there had been in 1881.

Is The Church Truly Christian ?

No doubt the tidal wave that swept during the years into the Church has begun now to slow down and to recede. Other emancipators are on the field besides the messengers of Christ and other, less worthy, motives than those of compassion are turning men's eyes towards these oppressed people and moving them at least to talk of helping them. The Church has leisure now to look at herself and consider how far she is truly to be described as Christian. When she does so she cannot see herself (what Church can?) as "without spot or wrinkle or any such thing." The wrongs inflicted through the centuries upon these fugitives from oppression still work out their evil consequences. When ignorance, superstition, fear have been so deeply wrought into the soul, they cannot be exorcised in a moment by a word, even by the great re-creative word of Christ. Not at least unless that word has really reached the understanding and the heart. But thousands of these people were drawn into the Church by nothing more than a sense of bondage and a dream of deliverance. In their case the Root that is Christ has no more than begun as yet to send forth tendrils. The fact that so many of these serfs have found freedom within the Christian Church is at once her glory and a heavy burden crushing her to the earth.

It is of the crushing burden that those who realise the high calling of the Church are at the present time most fully conscious. This fact creates most of the problems for which her leaders are seeking a solution almost despairingly. Mr. T.R. Glover has told us how in the early centuries the Christian "out-thought" the pagan, "outlived" him and "out-died" him. The fleeting glimpse that these outcastes have gained of the love of Christ may indeed in not a few cases enable them to suffer for Him and even to die for Him, for suffering is their lot. They may be able to say truly what a "poor Amboinese" said in the days of St. Francis Xavier, "I don't know what it is to be a Christian, and I don't know what God is, but I know one thing which Father Francis taught me, that it is good to die for Jesus Christ." But how to "out-think" the Hindus who kept them in ignorance for centuries is a far-off attainment for them yet,

and how to "outlive" them is a lesson that such depressed classes cannot but be slow to learn. This is all the more the case since in India among the higher classes there have been not a few who have journeyed along the highway of the Spirit. How hard then it must be for those who have come up from slavery and ignorance to make good their claim to have found the Way and the Goal. "Hindu India refuses to accept the claim when from among its own sons have arisen men and women who have attained nearer the Christ ideal than the Christians around them. Daily, hourly, the Church in India is confronted with this challenge¹."

The Problems of The Future.

The problems that present themselves in these circumstances to every loyal and eager Indian disciple of Christ are such as the following: How can such a Church bear that witness to her Lord, which the Church lives to bear? How can such a Church bear rule, under Christ, within her own household? And yet if she does not, how can she be or become what the Church of Christ should be? How can such a Church prove herself to be, in this land of India, the instrument of the coming of the Kingdom of God? These are questions to which answers are being anxiously sought at the present time and to which answers must be given.

When we are perplexed as to what answer to give to the question of the witness of a Church that is far off as yet, in the case of very many of its members, from Christ, the Source of its life, we remember with reassurance individual Christians whose lives are lived in Him and have been enriched and transfigured by Him. What they are the whole Church may be and, we believe, shall be. The writer would cite only two such, from his own Province in India and from among those whom he has himself known. These are Pandita Ramabai and Narayan Vaman Tilak. When the latter sings of Christ he echoes notes of spiritual longing that have come down through many centuries, but he does so in a new tone of rapture and attainment.

The more I win Thee, Lord, the more for Thee I pine;
Ah, such a heart is mine!
Thou dwellest within my heart. Forthwith anew the fire
Burns of my soul's desire.

¹ K. K. Kuruvilla in "*An Indian Approach to India*", p. 141.

There is here the inhalation and the exhalation of one who draws breath in the atmosphere of God, one who has attained a Nirvana that is not death but life. And certainly not less unmistakably do we see in Pandita Ramabai a Christian whose service of the poor and the despised was uplifted and borne onward by a tide of power that could only flow from God Himself. Through these and such as these, we know that the Church of Christ in India is indeed the Church of the living God and that the light that they kindled will shine on and with increasing brightness. We cannot doubt that in spite of so much that fills us with dismay we have here Christ Himself, and we have here therefore the one, holy, Catholic and apostolic Church.

The Church and Nationalism.

If its growth is slow and its life stagnant, how can these faults in it be remedied and the Church attain to its full stature in Christ Jesus? Growth — the growth that comes from the possession of life and health — that is, past all dispute, the chief need of the Church in India. It is not in any wise as necessary that it shall expand its borders as it is that it shall be strengthened at the centre, that its faith in Christ shall be deep-rooted, — sincere and intelligent and passionate. The Church needs first the Spirit of God, apart from which it is nothing but dead wood. This central necessity we take for granted; our aim here is to learn how we may discover and dig clear the channels by which the Spirit shall flow abundantly, and to note what dams these channels up and clogs them.

One of the first of the facts that we are aware of as affecting these problems (but whether it is a help to the life of the Church or a hindrance it is not easy at once to say) is nationalism. This spirit, so vivid and sometimes so fierce in India at the present time, has invaded the Church of Christ, as it has every department of the life of the people. Its effect is to make the Christian in whom it is present turn back again to his own people and his people's heritage and hopes with a far stronger desire than before to be one with them. But his desire is to magnify India, not yet to magnify Christ. He is a nationalist, not yet a super-nationalist, — not yet, that is to say, a full-grown Christian. And which of us — "imperialists" as we so largely are, even when we do not suspect it — can cast a stone at him?

The great gain from this nationalist quickening is just that it is a quickening, and that it makes the Church less of an exotic.

It sends roots into the soil, even if the soil is less rich than it might be. It is better that the Indian Church should turn away in petulance from her foreign helpers than that she should lean upon them so as to be unable to stand up upon her own feet.

Not Dominance but Co-operation.

Thus the Church is withdrawing herself, often with a certain resentment, from foreign dominance. A certain number of the people have begun to say, "This is our Church." They do not perhaps say as yet, "This is Christ's Church" — but they may have taken a real step in that direction. The duty of the foreign missionary is to welcome this advance. He should rejoice to stand aside and give room to the growing child to live its life. He should say with St. Paul, "Not that we lord it over your faith, — no, we co-operate for your joy : you have a standing of your own in the faith¹". A full recognition of this "standing of her own in the faith" must be willingly rendered by the Foreign Missions to the Indian Church. They must eagerly thrust upon her the central place that is hers as both right and duty "under Christ" and accept it as their part to "co-operate for the Church's joy." What is called the problem of the devolution of authority to the Church which is occupying so much of the attention of foreign missions at the present time in India is vitally related to the Church's growth. Co-operation and not domination — that is the channel of help by which the wisdom and experience of foreign Churches may flow into the life of the Indian Church, enriching it and strengthening it and causing it to grow.

The Way to Fuller Life.

The way of the wise foster-parent, of the wise educator, with the growing adolescent is full of pitfalls. In China the new lesson is being learned, it would seem, through the discipline of tragic experience. In India we are having dark hours, also, estrangements, recriminations, suspicions. At such a time in a Church's growth "offences," it may be, "must come." The way by which they may be escaped, or healed, is the way — on both sides — of a fuller possession of Christlikeness, of forbear-

¹ 2 Cor. 1. 24, Moffatt's translation.

ance and respect and love. It is hard, very hard, to be independent, when one is poor, — and the Indian Church is poor. It is sadly easy to be overbearing and dominant when one is rich — or at least richer than one's poor neighbour. How can the Indian Church in her poverty refuse to receive? How can the foreign Church learn to give with a love that has in it no patronage? Christianly to receive may be as blessed as lovingly to give.

The sum of the whole matter is that the Church of Christ in India needs "more life and fuller" — for she must grow. There are signs of this increasing life, sometimes, in a rebelliousness that may appear petulant, sometimes in experiments that may appear dangerous. "We shall call ourselves Hindu Christians" say some. "We shall put away from ourselves," say others, "the sacrament of Baptism, lest it separate us from our brethren." To take risks, to seek spiritual adventures, to blaze new paths, — these things which we see in the Indian Church of to-day may sometimes be due to recklessness and insincerity, but sometimes also to a courageous desire to go forward. When these new roads of adventure lead down among the despised and ignorant who are within the Church but who are so far off as yet from Christ, and when in the Spirit of Christ men hasten down these roads to help their brethren to realise their heritage in the Church, then the Church will begin to draw men's eyes. Love in India must blossom into a love that shall desire that all her ancient wisdom should be crowned by Christ. Then the Church in India shall bear a witness that shall give her in the land an unchallengeable authority. A Church that is nationalist, because it is rooted in the people's life and the people's dreams, and yet at the same time supernationalist, because it is above time — a Church that is self-reliant, strong, because her strength and her very self are in Christ — that is the true Catholic Church whether in India or in any land. She will not be ashamed to take the help of a foreign Church and foreign Christians, for those are her brethren for whom as for herself Christ died. "The egoistic satisfaction of giving things" — and the equally egoistic dislike of receiving them — "will be replaced" in the Church "by the joy of giving things together." The Churches of the older Christian lands and the Church of India will be helpers of each other's joy.

Deutsche Zusammenfassung.

Wenn Christus wirklich wie die Wurzel in der Erde in jedem Menschen verborgen ist, und wenn von dieser Wurzel die ersten grünen Keime ihren Weg ans Tageslicht suchen, dann ist die Kirche Christi geboren. Diese

Zeit der ersten Triebe ist, glaube ich, jetzt in vielen der Missionsländer angebrochen. Es ist ein Erwachen des Christus zu bemerken, ein sich bewussten werden seiner Kirche. Und eins dieser Länder ist Indien. Die Zeichen für ein lebendig werden sind unzweifelhaft da; unter den Gliedern der Kirche beginnt sich etwas neues zu regen, aber ebenso unter einer grossen Anzahl derer, die ihr nicht direkt angehören. Wir müssen uns über den richtigen Sachverhalt klar werden, denn wenn wirklich Christus und nicht Brahma in Indien lebendig wird, dann dürfen wir hoffen, dass ein neues kraftvolles Zeitalter anbricht.

Seit wenigstens 1500 Jahren besteht die christliche Kirche in Indien, Sie wurde durch Apostel aus Syrien herübergebracht und hat daher ihren Namen „Syrische Kirche“. Sie hat wenig Ausdehnung gefunden, aber dadurch, dass sie durch Jahrhunderte hindurch weitergelebt hat, beweist sie, dass sie ihren Ursprung in Christus hat. Ein Viertel der 4.754.000 Christen aller Konfessionen innerhalb Indiens und Bangs leben in den Staaten Travancore und Cochin. Diese Gesamtzahl zeigt, dass die christliche Religion die wichtigste der verschiedenen Religionen in Indien ist.

Die nächst-neueste Kirche nach der Syrischen ist die Römische. Im Jahre 1478 wurde sie zuerst durch Portugiesen nach Indien gebracht, ihr bedeutendster Apostel war St. Francis Xavier.

Der Anbruch einer dritten Aera der Kirche Christi hub an, als die ersten protestantischen Missionare zu Anfang des 19. Jahrhunderts nach Indien kamen, unter ihnen der Bibelübersetzer Carey und der Pädagoge Duff. Beide haben einen bedeutenden Einfluss gehabt. In wieviel anderen ausser den durch Zahlen feststellbaren zum Christentum bekehrten Indern der Geist Christi vielleicht ganz verborgen und zum Teil unbewusst lebendig ist, kann nicht nachgewiesen werden.

4.754.000 Seelen in Indien und Birma gehören zu einer oder der anderen Lehre der christlichen Kirche. Die Laster der Indier, Christen und um Massstab von massenweise die Bekehrung der Gegenwart und durch müssen wir nicht ohne Verachtung nur die Zahlen der Kirche Christi in Indien betrachten. Wenn wir erstarrt, wo wir unsere besondere Aufmerksamkeit auf die Christen, die nicht zu christlichen Konfessionen gehören, richten müssen und auf die folgenden:

Die erste Frage, die wir zur Beurteilung der Kirche aufzuwerfen haben, ist, ob sie ihr Leben wirklich bezeugt hat. Hat sie wirklich in Indien die Lehre Christi erfüllt und dadurch die „Menschwerdung“ immer wieder neu lebendig werden lassen? Um diese Frage richtig zu beantworten, müssen wir die Elemente kennenlernen, aus denen sie sich zusammensetzt. Wir müssen uns bewusst werden, dass das Christentum mit seiner Predigt von der Fehlebung vom Uebel meist grossen Zorn aus der Klasse der Unterdrückten erregt hat, so auch in Indien, das so reich an verachteten Kasten ist. Die ersten Christen in Indien waren durchweg Männer aus den vornehmen Kasten und von ganz besonderen Fähigkeiten und Geistesgaben. Ihrer waren zwar nur wenige, aber sie zündeten doch hier und da ein Licht an, das in einigen Fällen zur Feuersbrunst wurde. Die „unterdrückten“ und „befleckten“ Kasten, zu denen mehr als 60 Millionen Menschen zählen, wurden von dieser Feuersbrunst ergriffen. Wir brauchen die furchtbaren Verschmähungen und Verachtungen, denen diese Kasten in Indien ausgesetzt sind, nicht zu beschreiben, die Tatsache, dass sie nicht von der gleichen Quelle trinken dürfen wie die Hindu, und dass sie nicht in den gleichen Tempeln Gott anbeten dürfen, spricht für sich. Diese unglücklichen, verachteten Men-

schen haben während der letzten 40 Jahre in Strömen Zuflucht in der christlichen Kirche gesucht und gefunden, denn die Kirche hat ihre Pforten für sie aufgetan. So ist der enorme Zustrom in den Jahren zwischen 1881 und 1921, mit 2 ½ mal mehr bekehrten Indern 1921 als 1881 zu erklären.

Die erste Hochflut des Zustroms ist jetzt abgeflaut, und nun hat die Kirche Musse, sich über sich selbst klar zu werden und besonders darüber, wie weit sie wirklich Anspruch erheben kann „christlich“ zu sein. Dabei wird sie erkennen müssen, dass sie nicht ohne Fehler und Makel ist. Das Unrecht, das man durch Jahrhunderte diesen „aus dem Blend Entflohenen“ angetan hat, hat immer noch seine bösen Nachwirkungen. Wenn Unwissenheit, Verdacht und Furcht so tief in die Seelen eingegraben sind, können sie nicht durch ein einziges Wort beseitigt werden, selbst nicht durch das grosse Wort Jesu von der Wiedergeburt, wenigstens nicht eher, als bis dieses Wort wirklich bis auf den Grund der Seele durchgedrungen ist. In den Herzen der meisten dieser Menschen hat die Wurzel Jesu aber gerade eben erst die ersten Keime entwickelt. Die Tatsache, dass so viele dieser Unfreien Freiheit innerhalb der Kirche Christi fanden, ist einerseits das Wandeltende, andererseits eine schwere Last. Aus dem letzteren entspringt die Kirche in ihrer Pflicht, aber sie sah ihre Führen absterben. Die Christen so zu sein, die ihnen nicht nur übernahmen, sondern die ihnen zu eigen zu werden, wenn es geschehen würde, so sehr hat dies aber nicht geschehen, so sehr hat es sich noch nicht durchsetzen können, und so sehr hat es sich noch nicht durchsetzen können. Wie können die unbedruckten Köpfe in Indien die Lehren der Kirche in der Wirklichkeit bezeugen, aber die Hand, die sie, die von der Kirche abgelehnten, die Unwissenheit, die sie haben? Wie können sie, die aus Knechtschaft hervorgegangen sind den Weg zu einem reichen und gänzlichen Leben in Christus finden? „Das Indien der Hindu will von dem Ruf der Christenheit nichts wissen, wenn es sieht, wie aus seinen eigenen Reihen Männer und Frauen hervorgegangen sind, die das christliche Ideal mehr erreicht haben als die Christen.“¹

Die Probleme, die sich unter solchen Verhältnissen jedem loyal und tief nachdenkenden Christen in Indien aufdrängen müssen, sind die folgenden: „Wie kann unsere Kirche heute Zeugnis von Herrn ablegen? Wie kann sie wirklich ruhrend werden? Wie kann sie bezeugen, dass sie wirklich das Instrument ist, durch das Gott sich offenbaren will? Wenn wir bei der Frage, ob die Kirche wirklich Zeugnis von Christus abgelegt hat, die Antwort nur zaudernd geben können, so dürfen wir doch auf einzelne ihrer Glieder weisen, deren Leben wirklich in ihm verankert ist, die an innerem Reichtum gewonnen und eine Wiedergeburt in sich selbst erlebt haben. Ich möchte hier nur zwei solcher Christen aus meiner eigenen Provinz anführen, dies sind Pandita Ramabai und Narayan Vaman Tilak. Der letztere von ihnen hat in geistlichen Liedern ein so tiefes Sehnen nach Christus ausgedrückt; seine Gesänge atmen Gott und man spürt, dass sie von jemandem gesungen sind, der ein Nirwana kennt, das nicht Tod sondern Leben bedeutet. Der Strom einer ungeheuren Kraft, die aus der Gottheit ausgeht, überfällt uns, wenn wir die Dienste ansehen, die Pandita Ramabai den Armen und Verachteten geleistet hat. Durch das Leben von Menschen, wie diese zwei sehen wir, dass die Kirche Christi in Indien wirklich die Kirche des lebendigen Gottes

¹ K. K. Kuruvilla. „An Indian Approach to India“. S. 141.

wird die Kirche in Indien wirklich unzerstörbare Anerkennung finden. Aber dann wird ein Nationalismus in der Kirche lebendig werden, weil diese mitten in dem Leben des Volkes verankert ist, und doch wird sie über allem Nationalismus stehen, weil sie ausserhalb aller Zeit ist; sie wird eine Kirche voll Selbstvertrauen und Kraft sein, weil sie durch Christus lebt. Dies ist das Bild, das wir von der wahren allumfassenden Kirche vor Augen haben, ganz gleich in welchem Land sie ihre Gestaltung finden mag. Sie wird sich nicht scheuen, Hilfe von einer anderen Kirche und von Christen anderer Nationen zu nehmen, denn dies sind ja keine Fremden sondern Brüder, für die Jesus Christ ebenso gut starb als für sie selber.

India Moving Towards Christ

By A.J. APPASAMY.

There are unmistakable signs to-day that India is moving towards Christ. I am not merely thinking of the gradual influence of Christian ideals, which are beginning to permeate large realms of thought and life in India, but I am also thinking of individuals here and there who have come definitely under the spell of Jesus and who have set themselves loyally and unflinchingly to respond to His call. We can all think of instances which have come within our own personal observation. May I refer to some cases which have come to my knowledge? A Hindu Sannyasi (ascetic) has written a *Life of Christ* in beautiful Tamil verse, and it has been published by the Christian Literature Society, Madras. A young Hindu professor of philosophy, called upon to address a student's conference as its president, in the course of his address goes out of his way to pay his tribute of praise to Jesus. — A Hindu Pundit, whose discourses on Hindu philosophy are widely appreciated, sets forth to explain the significance of the Sermon on the Mount. These are but three small instances. Every Christian worker, from whatever part of India he may come, will be able to supplement these with instances which have come under his personal observation. All these indicate the direction in which the thought of India is moving. Let me try in this brief article to estimate the significance of this growing loyalty to Jesus which is being shown by individual men all over India. How much importance are we to attach to these men who avow in clear terms their allegiance to Christ? Are we to rejoice over them? Do they show the existence of a strong movement in India towards Christ or are they but superficial ripples on the vast ocean of India's life caused by some passing wind?

Christ and Christianity.

Those who observe these signs will note two important facts about them. The movement in India is powerfully influenced by the life and teaching of Jesus. We are proud of our methods of organization with all their efficiency. We are proud of the

social prestige which Christianity commands to-day in the world. The Hindu has no good word for either our efficient and business-like conduct of our religion, nor for the social prestige and power connected with it. In some cases he actually makes a distinction between Christ and Christianity, and says that while he is deeply attracted by Christ he has only criticism for Christianity. In the thinking of some men this distinction between Christ and Christianity is quite articulate. There may be several others in whose mind this distinction is not clear but who nevertheless instinctively and spontaneously and genuinely yield to the power of Christ without showing any leaning towards those institutions and ideas which have come to be associated with the name of Christ. Even the Church, the Sacraments, the Bible and the orthodox Christian doctrines, which count for so much with most Christians, have no attraction for them.

The Dominating Factor.

As a first step, this is a move in the right direction. That religious India should thus spontaneously express its whole-hearted devotion to Christ and not to Christianity is a fact of tremendous significance for India herself and also for the rest of the world. We cannot but rejoice that the Indian religious consciousness has so instinctively penetrated into the very heart and core of our religion. We cannot but rejoice that the growing loyalty of India to Christ has appropriated the central and most valuable part of Christian experience, while discarding, neglecting or ignoring the less valuable elements. It is fit and proper that the supreme figure of Jesus should thus dominate the living heart of India and call forth such fine and abundant tributes of reverence and worship. In our anxiety for the things associated with Christ let us not forget to attach due importance to this spreading movement whose object is to exalt Our Lord in India.

This instinctive direction of the deepest spiritual impulses of India towards Christ should also be a powerful lesson to the whole world. That, after extensive Christian preaching in which all the paraphernalia of the Christian religion have received due emphasis, India should thus take hold of the heart of Christianity, leaving out the rest, must stimulate the Christian world to revise afresh its scale of values and to give back to Jesus His supreme place. India's rich spiritual heritage may thus give a new interpretation even now, while she is still nominally non-Christian, to the message of Jesus.

The other fact about the present situation is that men are not merely willing to acknowledge their loyalty to Christ but they are also anxious of their own accord to spread it. Time was when we had to coax men to listen to our Christian teaching. Time was when we had to persuade them to read the Bible. Time was when we had to give the Christian message without mentioning the name of Christ. All this is changing now. The name of Christ is adored and revered here, there and everywhere. And some Hindus themselves are beginning to feel that they ought to awaken in their fellow religionists a sense of the supreme power of Jesus. They are willing not merely themselves to yield their lives to the practice of the precepts of Jesus but they are anxious to stimulate others to do so. Some of them go out of their way to preach, to teach, to lecture and to write in order that the message of Christ may be spread far and wide. This also is a significant fact.

Is India Moving Towards Christianity?

But have I been overstating the case? Have I forgotten the fact that most of these men would not accept the uniqueness of Jesus? Would not joining hands with them strike at the very root of the claim for the uniqueness of Christ? Some Christian workers have for this reason deplored the present situation. They have considered that this is only a further evidence of the eclectic character of Hinduism, that Christ will be merely given a place in the Hindu Pantheon, and that everything distinctively Christian will be swamped. If we may forcast the future, India will offer innumerable interpretations of Christ from different points of view. A good many of them will be orthodox and a good many probably unorthodox. The Christian Church will be the arbiter of orthodoxy. There can be no sort of control over the interpretations offered outside the Christian Church. We can only hope and pray that those who are outside the Christian Church endeavouring to understand and to interpret Christ will acknowledge His greatness in full measure and do justice to the unique character of His revelation.

But will the Christian Church in India maintain the supremacy and uniqueness of Christ? Or will she, yielding to the strongly eclectic character of Indian religious thought, think of Jesus only as one among many manifestations of the Divine? We forget that in the profounder reaches of theological thinking in India there is no eclecticism. Does Ramanuja, for instance,

think that what he teaches is the same as what Sankara teaches? No, he always takes pains to maintain that his thinking wholly differs from that of Sankara. At every point he draws out the distinction. So does every theologian in India. He shows wherein his own system of thought differs from those of others. He does not minimise the differences. He does not say that all the systems of religion are equally right. This attitude of mind, which we frequently encounter in the course of our Christian teaching, is superficial. When an Indian becomes deeply and truly devoted to Christ he will not fail to recognise the real variance between Him and the other revealers and prophets of God.

What Really Matters.

But we may ask why there is not a larger number of people who are becoming Christians. In our urgency we should not press for outward acceptance. True devotion to Christ is the first step. If a man seeks to give true expression in his life to his loyalty he will begin to identify himself with the Christian Church which, whatever its failures may have been, has been the one body which has sought to follow Christ through the ages. Experience will teach that association with this body will in the long run be a help and not a hindrance. He will find in the Christian Church an environment in which his loyalty to Christ will find its best and most helpful expression. Let us urge by all means a full and real devotion to Christ. But let us not place the same emphasis upon the ways in which we think this devotion should be expressed outwardly. In God's good time the religious consciousness of India will unfold as a perfect blossom. In our hurry we cannot press it open. For a long time the bud has remained closed. Now it is unfolding slightly and a few glimpses of beauty appear before our wondering eyes. In our anxiety we should not tear open the bud; for then there will no full blossom but only shreds left. The God of all love, who is awaking India to a consciousness of the power and love and beauty of Christ, will complete and perfect His glorious work.

Résumé français.

Il y a des signes indiscutables d'un mouvement de l'Inde vers le Christ. Nous ne parlons pas seulement de l'influence de l'idéal chrétien pénétrant la pensée et la vie indiennes, mais d'individus venus personnellement à Jésus. Un ascète indou a écrit une Vie de Jésus; un Indou, professeur de

philosophie, a, dans une conférence faite à des étudiants, rendu hommage à Jésus; un autre commente le Sermon sur la Montagne. On pourrait citer beaucoup d'autres exemples, tous significatifs de la même tendance. Ce mouvement se dessine-t-il comme devant durer et s'accroître ou, au contraire, comme passager et superficiel?

Deux faits importants frappent l'observateur. Ce mouvement est puissamment influencé par la vie et par l'enseignement de Jésus. Nous chrétiens sommes fiers du presage sans attache au Christianisme, de nos méthodes d'organisation, de leur efficacité, toutes choses que l'Indou n'apprécie pas. Le distinction, pour nos chrétiens, l'Indou en reconnaît, entre le Christ, « le Seigneur », et le serviteur, le « Christ », « l'homme pour lequel il n'a que des paroles. Le peu d'attachement à l'enseignement et de tout cœur au nouveau Christ, sans attachement à l'enseignement pour les chrétiens ou les Indous que nous avons vu, nous dit que l'Inde n'est pas l'Eglise et ses doctrines, les Sacraments, la liturgie, son culte, son service.

Par ce premier fait l'Inde s'engage dans la bonne voie. Cet élan vers le Christ et vers le Christianisme est la base d'une approche capable pour l'Inde d'être une véritable religion. Reconnaissons-nous de notre conscience que nous ne pouvons permettre à nos chrétiens d'acquiescer à ce trait de notre religion, faisant servir la parole sans puissance de l'expérience chrétienne et négligeant les éléments de manière vraie. Le mouvement est tel que la personne de Jésus reste non seulement le point de départ, mais le point de retour et d'adhésion.

Cette tendance instinctive des aspirations spirituelles de l'Inde vers la personne de Jésus devrait être une leçon pour le monde chrétien tout entier. Instruit par l'expérience faite dans l'Inde, puisse-t-il être amené à rejeter l'écueil de son attachement à l'Inde, dans son élan suprême. Ainsi même, sans être un chrétien, l'Inde peut être amenée à son patrimoine chrétien, pour reconnaître la vérité et l'expérience vraie, le message du Christ.

Second fait important de la situation présente : le désir de prosélytisme chez ceux qui proclament leur attachement au Christ. Il fut un temps où il fallut traduire le mot sanscrit « Christ » sans prononcer son nom; aujourd'hui ce nom est adoré, révéré. Quelques Indous eux-mêmes éprouvent le besoin de faire connaître à leurs coreligionnaires le pouvoir suprême de Jésus; ils veulent non seulement vivre selon les préceptes de Jésus, mais stimuler chez d'autres le même désir.

Mais ce tableau n'est-il pas trop optimiste? La plupart de ces hommes ne reconnaissent pas en Jésus le Dieu unique. Pourquoi nous païser avec eux? Ils aiment le Christ, mais ils ne le voient pas comme Dieu, ils voyant qu'il ne peut pas être Dieu, ils ne voient pas que l'Indouisme dispose à placer Jésus dans le Panthéon indou en rejetant tout ce qui fait le caractère distinctif du Christianisme. Sans doute, l'Inde offrira, dans l'avenir, d'innombrables interprétations, orthodoxes et non-orthodoxes, du message du Christ. L'Eglise chrétienne en sera l'arbitre. Nous ne pouvons que prier pour que ceux qui n'appartiennent pas à l'Eglise du Christ reconnaissent sa grandeur et le caractère unique de sa révélation.

L'Eglise chrétienne pourra-t-elle maintenir dans l'Inde la suprématie et le caractère unique de Jésus? Ou, cédant aux tentations velleitaires de sa pensée théologique, l'Inde ne considérera-t-elle Jésus que comme l'une des nombreuses manifestations de l'élément divin? Nous ne pouvons pas que, dans le domaine profond de sa pensée théologique, l'Inde n'est pas ecclésiastique; l'enseignement de nombreux théologiens en fournit la preuve.

Lorsqu'un Indien deviendra sincèrement et profondément fidèle au Christ, il ne manquera pas de reconnaître ce qui le sépare des autres prophètes de Dieu.

Mais, dira-t-on, pourquoi n'y a-t-il pas plus d'Indiens qui se fassent chrétiens ? Laissons agir le temps. Un attachement fidèle au Christ est un premier pas. L'homme qui voudra que sa vie soit un témoignage de son loyalisme se rattachera peu à peu à l'Eglise chrétienne, seule institution qui, quelles que soient ses faiblesses, ait à travers les siècles marché sur les traces du Christ. Insistons sur la valeur de la foi en Jésus, non sur la forme qu'elle revêt.

Quand Dieu le voudra, le sentiment religieux de l'Inde s'épanouira. Le bourgeon, longtemps fermé, s'ouvre lentement. Craignons, par trop de hâte, d'en compromettre la floraison. Dieu saura accomplir et parfaire Son œuvre sublime.

Are Christian Missions Still Needed in India ?

By R.L. RALLIA RAM.

Are Christian Missions still needed in India? The answer to this question is not difficult to seek. There are those who maintain that Christian Missions were never needed in India, and the problem of "still needing them" does not arise. Another section of the Indian people hold that Missions are no longer needed, while a great majority not only welcome but strongly desire that Missions should not withdraw, but strengthen their work in this country. They would however, stipulate that a change in their angle of vision and missionary methods of work is necessary.

Where Missionaries Have Failed.

In the first category, two classes of people may be found. The first class consists of those who do not see any value in the religion of Jesus Christ. They believe that the old Scriptures of India contain all wisdom. Such people may be reckoned of little account in any serious study. The second class of antagonists to Missions argue that Christian Missions are the emissaries of Western Civilisation and of Imperialism; that they are first and foremost members of the ruling race and are as much concerned with the continuance of Alien Domination in India as with their own propaganda. It has even been contended that they are often found in the company of the Die-hards. They are Europeans first and Christians afterwards. Colour has been lent to this assumption by the opinions that are sometimes expressed by them in public or in private, and by the fact that in their "Homelands" they have been associated with a propaganda calculated to bring into relief such features of Indian life as are repugnant and repelling. To a people of an ancient civilisation, or an old culture, such conduct on the part of persons who are claiming to be messengers of peace and goodwill seems inconsistent, and takes away a great deal from the strength of

their message. The number of such Missionaries as have drunk deep of the wisdom and culture of India can be counted on the fingers of one's hand. The message of Jesus Christ can only be received by India if it is the fulfilment of her age-long quest after truth — the crown of all that is highest and noblest in her tradition. There is much in the past history of India of which she can justly be proud. She can lift up her head and point out many things that are of inestimable value to the younger members of the world's fraternity of people. It is only in this spirit that a devotee of Jesus Christ can approach India and can present to her the Master of her future destinies. It is when her spiritual past is sought to be obliterated and Western forms of Christianity are offered as a complete substitute, that the claim is naturally advanced that Christian Missions were never needed and are no longer needed in India.

The Indian Church Demands Independence.

The arguments of the exponents of the second view-point, viz., that Missions are no longer needed, may be thus summarised as follows: Jesus Christ was a purely spiritual message for this old land, and His message is something that India has always had values and would like to retain. It is due to the Christian Missionaries for introducing Him, and because they have also been instrumental in demonstrating Western methods of social service with their many worthwhile elements. India is richer for these contributions, but the task of the Missionaries is now done. We have come to know and to revere Jesus Christ. He has an abiding place in our hearts. India cannot lose sight of Him, but we desire to interpret Him in our own way. We shall sit at the feet of the Master ourselves and we shall learn direct from Him. As a result of the labours of the Missionary Societies, there has come into existence the Indian Church. We shall look to that Church for showing us in practical life whether the Life and Words of Jesus Christ can be translated into action. If the Church fails, we shall know that you have given to India a false interpretation of the Great Lord. Whether the Church fails or succeeds, Christ will still be ours. There is no more need for the Christian Missions to stay.

There is another aspect of the matter too. The strength of the Indian Church is dependent very largely on foreign personnel and foreign money. The Indian Church is poor and owns no property. If a different policy had been adopted the Church

might have been stronger. There are religious bodies in India which are much younger than the Christian Church, but economically and materially in a much better position. If the Christian Church is to become an institution of the land, it must have a strong organisation of its own, it must have resources, it must have some vested interests. Most of these are in the hands of societies with Headquarters in foreign lands. The sooner the foreign Missions withdraw, the better; for only then will the Indian Church learn to stand on its own feet and develop its own life and its own methods of work.

The Need For a New Type of Missionary.

Both the first and the second points of view have some elements of truth, and point to the weakest link in the chain; but the great majority of educated Indians would to-day vote for the continuance of Missions. They would probably ask for a change in the angle of vision to suit the altered circumstances. No doubt there has been a considerable advance during the past decade, for the spirit of cooperation is abroad. There is much more camaraderie between the foreign missionaries and the Indian Christian workers than ever before; but is the change and advance quick enough to meet the rapid changes now taking place in India, or are the Missions so slow to change their policies too slowly to be effective?

Can India afford to do without Christian Missions? India is now awakening from a dream. There is a new hope in the hearts of her younger men, new ideals have been placed on the pedestal. Her national consciousness is a factor to be reckoned with. The ideal of Swaraj is an idol of every heart. India must come into her own. But the task is neither easy nor within easy reach. The help of every agency that offers its assistance must be welcomed. The Christian Missions have played their part in bringing about this change. They are a most valuable factor in the work of national reconstruction. According to the Directory of Christian Missions, 89 Agricultural Settlements, 51 Colleges, 217 High Schools, 170 Industrial Schools, 475 Middle Schools, 76 Teachers' Training Institutions, 205 Dispensaries, 213 Hospitals, 60 Leper Institutions, 8 Tuberculosis Sanatoria, 11 Homes for the Blind, 6 Homes for Women, are being conducted by the Protestant Christian Missions in this land. Can India afford to lose all these agencies of public welfare? This is by

no means the best part of the argument. We in India are in a period of transition, in the throes of a Renaissance. There is a great danger that in our task of national reconstruction and of rebuilding our economic and social systems in the scheme of an ideal Swaraj, a *merely* nationalistic tendency may so overwhelm our motives that the spiritual values may be lost altogether. The work of the Christian Church and of the Christian Missionaries has behind it the dynamic power of Jesus Christ and thus contributes to our social and economic work that spiritual impetus which alone can impel the younger generation of Indians to concentrate their lives to the regeneration of their motherland on a high and a Divine plane.

The Immediate Task.

The Christian Church is still weak, and the future of the relation of Jesus Christ to India in her new life must depend upon the way the Christian Church is able to make its contribution to the national life. So, if the time comes when the Christian Missions entirely withdraw, the Indian Church should be in a position to continue not only that part of the work of foreign Missions that may be termed purely spiritual, but it should also be in a position to carry on all those great and splendid institutions that have been created by them for India and without which India would be distinctly poorer.

The chief task of foreign missions now is to enable the church to take over their work. And while the work in the wider field of the social and economic amelioration of India must be continued, the duty of Missions is primarily to bring about as soon as possible, the time when the Missions shall be entirely absorbed in the Christian Church, or when, in the words of the Missionary Statesman, Henry Winn, the time of "Euthanasia" must draw nearer. The real problem is that, while this is recognised in theory, in practice the business of keeping the machinery going is so all-absorbing that the ideal is often lost sight of or at least pushed aside for the time. Is it possible to keep this ideal before the Missions as a practicable goal, to be worked for every day of the Missions' existence in India? If this is only a theory, and the goal is still in the very far distant future, the sooner the Missions withdraw the better, so that the weak, struggling Church may find its level at the earliest opportunity.

What Is Wanted — Co-operation.

The question is not one of L.S.D.; neither is it one of personnel. It is a question of the spirit and the motives with which missionary work is undertaken. It also means assigning new spiritual values to the work which is being undertaken. Disciples of Jesus Christ from other nations will always be needed and welcomed, in India more than in any other land. The Eastern and Western cultures have come into conflict in this country and the future of the human race depends on the outcome of this conflict. It is only Christian disciples who, by the fellowship of common service, can demonstrate the practical unity that is possible in Jesus Christ and the practical revelation of the ideal of universal brotherhood in Him. Moreover every nation has some distinct contribution to make to the life of the world, and India is richer because men of all nationalities have come to make their contribution through the international Christian fellowship of the Christian Church. All such contributions will be needed for a long time. Even if the Christian Missions withdraw, the Christian Missionaries would still be welcomed and asked for as fellow-workers of the Christian Church in India.

To sum up the answer to the query with which we started, it may be said that Christian Missions are still needed in India, but that India desires that they should be withdrawn as a separate organisation as soon as that is possible, while, as far as Christian Missionaries are concerned, she desires that they should never be withdrawn. If this task is to be accomplished, the Missions need to send men who have faith in the venture, belief in others and no superiority complex; who are willing to take risks; who come to serve and not to govern; who are willing to obliterate themselves so that their Cause may flourish — men with a new outlook on life. Let foreign missions send us men of consecration and of purpose, as fellow-workers with their Indian co-workers!

Deutsche Zusammenfassung.

Ist christliche Mission in Indien noch notwendig? Es herrschen darüber verschiedene Ansichten; die einen behaupten, dass christliche Mission in Indien nie nötig war und so wäre die obige Frage für sie überhaupt nicht vorhanden; andere wieder glauben, dass Mission jetzt nicht mehr nötig sei, während die Dritten, und diese sind weitaus in der Mehrzahl, Mission nicht nur sehr begrüßen sondern wünschen, dass sie

ihre Arbeit in Indien noch verstärke. Allerdings halten sie eine Aenderung der Arbeitsmethoden sowie der ganzen Einstellung der Missionare zu Indien für durchaus unumgänglich.

Die erste Kategorie könnte man in zwei Gruppen teilen, in diejenigen, die überhaupt keinen Wert in der Religion Jesu Christi sehen und in diejenigen, die die Missionare von vornherein als Träger westlicher Zivilisation und des Imperialismus betrachten. Sie behaupten, die Missionare seien in erster Linie Europäer und dann erst Christen. Und tatsächlich ist die Zahl derjenigen, die sich wirklich mit der Kultur und den Weisheiten Indiens beschäftigen haben, nur klein. Die Lehre Jesu Christi kann nur dann Verwirklichung finden, wenn sie wirklich Indiens jahzähntes Schicksal nach der Wahrheit erfährt und so gleichsam das Heilige und Heile der indischen Traditionen kennt. Nur wer anerkennt, dass Indien alte Wahrheiten besitzt, ist geeignet, Jesus Christus zu vermitteln. Und nur, wenn man die geistige Vergangenheit Indiens wegzuleugnen versucht und als Ersatz das Christentum in seiner europäischen Form der Indern bietet, wird die Antwort sein, dass christliche Missionen nichts nützen werden und nur schaden können.

Die Argumente der zweiten Gruppe, die der Meinung waren, dass Mission nicht länger notwendig ist, könnte man vielleicht so zusammenfassen: „Wir sind davon überzeugt, dass Jesus Christus eine geistige Botschaft zu bringen hat, und wir sind auch dankbar, dass die Missionare uns diese übermitteln und uns die westliche Form der sozialen Arbeit gezeigt haben. Uns ist dadurch viel Beistand und Erbauung geworden. Jesus Christus hat in westlichen Ländern das Leben der Herzen gewonnen, den eine wie wieder verloren haben, und die Missionare brauchen wir jetzt nicht mehr, denn wir haben die christliche Arbeit gelernt und die Dinge werden besser. Deshalb ist die Aufgabe der Missionare zu Ende.“ Indische Kirche ist entstanden, aber es ist viel zu jung, so dass wir nicht die Jesu Leben und Worte im täglichen Leben in die Tat umgesetzt. Sollte sie versagen, dann wissen wir, dass die Dinge ganz anders Christen sein werden.“

Die Ansicht, nach der andere sich für die indische Kirche zu stark abhängig von fremden Geld und den Missionaren. Das käme daher, weil sie immer noch keine eigenen Besitztümer habe. Der Grund dafür läge in einer falschen Politik und Organisation, dass sei durch andere längere Einrichtungen erzieht, die finanziell viel besser basieren seien. Wenn die Kirche Jesu Christi aber wirklich eine lebendige Einrichtung in Indien werden sollte, dann müsste es sich eine eigene starke Organisation bilden, die sich in der Zeit der unabhängigen Länder hat; sie müsste Geldmittel und festgelegte Rechte haben.

In diesen Ansichten ist manche Wahrheit. Aber die grösste Mehrheit der gebildeten Indier steht doch auf dem Standpunkt, dass die Missionen in Indien weitergeführt werden müssen, allerdings wie schon erwähnt, unter der Bedingung, dass sich manches in der Herstellungs der Missionen ändere. Zweite Frage ist, bis zu welchem Grade eine solche Umgestaltung geschehen, es besteht eine viel grössere Ähnlichkeit und Kameradschaft zwischen dem europäischen Missionar und dem indischen christlichen Prediger? Aber ist dieser Fortschritt wirklich gross genug, um den ungeheuer schnell vor sich gehenden Veränderungen in Indien zu begegnen?

Kann Indien wirklich ohne die christliche Mission fertig werden? Indien erwacht augenblicklich als Nation aus einem tiefen Schlaf. Mit diesem neuen Nationalbewusstsein muss man heute rechnen. Für

dieses Erwachen sind die christlichen Missionen zu einem gewissen Teil verantwortlich. Unter ihrer Anregung und Leitung sind zahlreiche soziale Einrichtungen entstanden, die alle zum nationalen Wiederaufbau beigetragen haben; laut dem Bericht der christlichen Mission sind es die folgenden: 89 landwirtschaftliche Besitzungen, 51 Hochschulen, 247 höhere Schulen, 170 Industrialschulen, 475 Mittelschulen, 76 Lehrervorbereitungsinstitute, 205 Armenapotheken, 213 Krankenhäuser, 60 Häuser für Aussätzige, 8 Sanatorien für Tuberkulöse, 11 Blindenheime und 6 Frauenheime. Eine grosse Gefahr besteht beim nationalen Wiederaufbau und der Reorganisation unserer oekonomischen und sozialen Systeme, nämlich dass eine nur nationale Tendenz so stark Ueberhand gewinnt und dadurch die geistigen Werte verloren gehen. Dies kann eventuell durch die Missionare verhütet werden, die hinter sich die dynamische Macht Jesu Christi haben.

Die christliche Kirche ist in Indien noch schwach und die Beziehungen, die Jesus Christus zu dem neuen Indien haben wird, hängen davon ab, ob die christliche Kirche dem neuen Indien helfen geschweigen wird. Es wäre Aufgabe der Missionare die Indes selber so zu machen, dass, wenn wieder die Missionen des Landes ihre Arbeit einstellen, die Indische Kirche nicht einen der wichtigsten Teil der Arbeit verneinmen kann, sondern ebenso gut wie die sozialen Einrichtungen, die mit Indien so viel Segen gebracht haben.

Dies alles ist eine Theorie wie es gesagt worden, aber in der Praxis, in dem rein technischen Aufrechterhalten scheint das Ideal oft vergessen oder wenigstens beiseite geschoben zu sein.

Mehr oder weniger trägt jede Nation zur Bereicherung des allgemeinen Lebens bei und tragen wir dadurch das Vermögen so verschiedener Nationen zusammen, so, der christlichen universalen Gemeinschaft in der menschlichen Kette zu einer grossen Vernetzung. All dies kann nicht auf einmal aufhören!

Um nun alles in einer Antwort zusammenzufassen, möchte ich sagen, dass wir heute christliche Mission ebenso sehr notwendig haben wie früher, dass wir sie aber als getrennte fremde Organisationen nicht dulden können. Wir haben uns Mühe gegeben, die Missionen zu schenken, die Glauben in die neue Gestalt der Arbeit haben, die mit keinem Ueberlegenheitsgefühl zu uns kommen, die davor wollen und nicht herrschen, die sich selber um die Sache zu kümmern können, Männer mit einer neuen Idee vom Leben. Ihr fremden Missionen schickt uns Männer, die sich selbst einem heiligen Zweck geweiht haben, die bereit sind als Mitarbeiter ihren indischen Kameraden zu helfen!

Are Christian Missions Still Needed in India ?

By J. S. B. ABRAHAM,

A certain Fourth of July orator in America became embarrassed when his turn to make a speech came, and delivered himself thus : " Gentlemen, what we need — what... what... what we — what we need is — is — fewer men — what we need is fewer men, and more of them! " My first reaction to the question asked in the title of this article was very similar. What we need in India is a few good missionaries *and* more of them! We need quality in the personnel of the Mission and more of it.

The Missionary Who Is a Menace.

Our country has been the dumping-ground of many Western products, and among them may be included the sort of foreign missionary who is a menace to all real Christian service. It is the class of missionary on whom an article like this will be wasted, and yet it is just that very class of people that we should wish to get rid of. At the same time there are quite a few men and women who have chosen to serve us and our needs and who though from a foreign land will always be a distinct asset to us in our period of nation-building. It is these that we need in increasing numbers. The term " missionary " denotes a very heterogeneous crowd possessing a mental equipment that ranges anywhere " from Rome to Tennessee," including others who will not bow their knees to either!

We shall first consider the type of missionary that we do *not* want in India. He, like the thorn in the parable, generally flourishes alongside of the better class of missionary, and eventually chokes out all the usefulness of the latter. We in India do not want any missionary who comes to us in the spirit not of a " minister " but of a " magister." Perhaps the word " minister " is misleading, especially in these days of power and prestige, when even a minister under our Diarchy is looked

upon as a demi-god. I am using the term "minister" in its original meaning of servant, and not in the spirit of an overlord or as the privileged representative of a Chosen Race.

The Superiority Complex.

And yet this unfortunate type of missionary is all too common, no matter what particular Mission you choose to investigate. Of course in some missions they thrive like an epidemic. It is this kind of missionary that combines in his person all the smug religiosity of a pharisee and the unscrupulousness of a Western diplomat. It is this kind of missionary that has one line of conduct for the Hills and the Homeland, and another for the Mission Station where he has to make his noble attempt at being an "example" to the poor "native." It is this kind of missionary that crowds a Government-House party and takes all his political and other views from the Anglo-Indian Press. He can never forget his colour or race. He is a secret or avowed believer in the myth of Nordic superiority, and expects certain privileges for his race which even such godless institutions as the railway companies have long ago stopped granting. One of my friends who is now a Y.M.C.A. secretary once told me that in his young days in the Sunday school his missionary (who happened to be a German) had so rubbed into him such exalted notions about Germany that for a long time he grew up in the belief that heaven must be somewhere in Germany! Of course in these more sophisticated days even a thoroughly undesirable missionary is careful to conceal such opinions, but in his unguarded moments he gives himself away. Such a missionary only tries to set up another caste in an already caste-ridden country. It may be that the nation which the Western missionary represents has stolen a march on us in the matter of material civilisation; but simply because he can shoot a bison better and his womenfolk can wear fewer garments than ours, that is no real proof of his superiority over us. Then again there is a type of missionary who, though not guilty of any of these faults, still consciously or unconsciously absorbed into his system a kind of Imperialistic way of thinking and acting which jars on us. To this type of missionary the gospel is "Made in U. S. A." or "Made in Great Britain" and patented by the Churches in both those countries. Whether in the pulpit or on the platform, one could hear the refrain through their message — "*We are the people!*" — "*Christ is ours!*" — "*We are the accredited agents!*" One gem among

this type is reported to have said at a street preaching that there is good rainfall in America because the people are all Christians there! Sometimes this kind of proprietorship and air of monopoly sickens us to the point of disgust and even aversion to the message.

The Missionary Who Is Welcome.

We in India will always be glad to welcome real missionaries from the West who will come to us in the spirit of our Master — namely to serve and not to be served. We shall want them not merely to stay in India but also to identify themselves with us — not simply by discarding the shaking of hands and adopting the Namaskaram instead — not by giving up their mode of dress and adopting ours — not by admiring everything that is Indian, when we know only too well that we have as many faults in our culture and civilisation as they in theirs. This is but a superficial conforming to our mode of life ; it will not make them Indians. We would rather the identification of interests was more fundamental than that. It would certainly mean sacrifice of no small order. But it will be the sort of sacrifice that will manifest itself and which will not need much advertisement. If a missionary is not prepared to consider India as his home, he has no business to be here. As things are at present, he is like the dove that went out of Noah's Ark. He may fly all over creation, but must get back to his original home to rest. He is just a glorified globe-trotter, only instead of "doing" India in two months and writing a book about it, he "does" it in twenty years. If a missionary is to amount to anything he must take us for better and for worse, and live all the days of his life with us and be one among us. The long or short-term contract, which is so typical of most of his business and other relationships in the West, may be good enough in its own way but not good enough for India. If he is to be simply a bird of passage, he is no better than a Civilian, though perhaps with this important difference — he is not a charge on India. He gets his salary and allowance from abroad, and so even an undesirable missionary is economically a gain to us, because he releases foreign money into India! Still, I do not think we would want a missionary to remain in our country on that score. We have enough of American tourists who periodically invade our land and do us a good turn by spending their dollars here.

A Fundamental Change Necessary.

It is not that the missionary has not done any good in India. He has established hospitals for us. He has redeemed quite a number of the submerged classes from a life of slavery to freedom of a kind. He has conducted educational institutions of varying kinds. But these are services which the Indian has learnt to do for himself with the help of the Servants of India Society, the Ramakrishna Mission, the Arya Samaj, and the Indian Municipalities and Government. So the only future justification for the presence of missionaries in India is that they will be here as men and women who will identify themselves with us in everything Indian, "who will be glad or grieved, content or not, at every little thing that concerns us." This means that they must be more like the Master, and like Him be as one that serves. This will mean a fundamental change in the entire missionary outlook and policy. There can be no more bigotry, no more use of religion as a divisive force. Much of the present intolerance must disappear. There can be no more exclusive missionary cliques and missionary diplomacy. There can be no more abuse of power that comes by the possession of unlimited funds. It will also mean no more overriding of Indian sentiments and aspirations. It certainly will mean the death-knell of missionary bureaucracy in all its manifold forms.

Christianity Must Be Lived -- not Preached.

India's needs are many and India's needs are urgent. But we would rather continue to be poor than let any group of self-righteous foreigners come and insult us with their doles, whether it be money or the gospel. At least the enlightened section among the Indian people will have no respect for any missionary who comes to us in the spirit not of a servant, but of a diplomat. We want Christianity *practised* in our midst, and not preached or publicly demonstrated. We want men and women who will merge their lives with the life of the people, and let their influence work in such a way that it will bring into India a people who shall be worthy citizens of the Kingdom of God. Judged by these standards, many a missionary and many a Mission will have to pack up and go; but I believe that the few that will be left behind will be so unhampered by the presence of those others that the Kingdom of God in India would be established much sooner. It is more of these "few" missionaries that we need — more — and yet some more.

Movements of Student Life and Thought in India

(A) *Among Men Students.*

By R. F. Maccune.

One of the greatest needs for the work of national reconstruction in India, in the economic, social, political and religious spheres, is the need of more Indian initiative. The tasks of leadership very often descend upon most diffident and almost unwilling persons. And this, in the home of more than 300 million men and women! One naturally asks : Why ?

Mr. Ramsay Macdonald, Britain's first Labour Premier, lays his finger on one most pregnant of many causes, when in his thoughtful book "*The Awakening of India*" he says :

"In all attempts to govern a country by a benevolent despotism, the governed are crushed down. They become subjects who obey, not citizens who act. Their literature, their art, their spiritual expression, go. They descend to the level of mere imitators and copyists.... When we recall the riches of Indian civilization in the past, it becomes plain that the loss of initiative and self-development has been greater in India than in almost any other country. (Vide p. 231.)

Subjects, not Citizens.

India has been the land of benevolent despotism for centuries. The young Indian, as he is awakened to a sense of his racial and cultural pride, discovers that he is growing under, or rather that his growth is being stunted by, such a system of direction and control. Those to whom fell the arduous task of "educating" the Indian people under British sovereignty, wittingly or unwittingly, concerned themselves with the production of "subjects who obey, not citizens who act." One cannot help thinking that the task of ensuring British supremacy, to which all Britishers

in India had to address themselves after the Indian Peoples' War of Independence, — commonly known by the ugly name of the Indian Mutiny of 1857, — must have been the deciding factor when British educationists of that date were enunciating to themselves *for actual working* their educational objective. However that may be, it is beyond dispute that in spite of all the noble efforts of some of the educational institutions of to-day, the young Indian, when he leaves the University, is generally more fitted to obey than to act on his own. His latent powers and natural gifts are not much developed. Quite often his "educators" have not even paid him the compliment of suspecting the presence in him of any such gifts or talents. And even where they are known to exist, generally no adequate effort is made to develop them. Quite often, the busy teacher has no time for that side of things. When you are responsible for so much, the temptation to do it all yourself, and ensure the quality of work done, rather than spend yourself in training amateurs in the art of doing things, is almost too great for resistance in such a situation as India presents.

A Small Student Body.

There are in India¹ over 63,000 men and over 1,800 women students, distributed mainly over 169 Arts Colleges for men and 16 Arts Colleges for Women. Of these, not more than 4000 are Christians. The percentage of total scholars to the population of the country is only 6.7 for men and 1.31 for women. When it is realised that the percentage for College students is still lower, the smallness of our college community begins to dawn upon us. And yet it is these upon whom depends, so largely, the future of India. For anything that the educated citizens of India will really set themselves to accomplish will ultimately find acceptance with the masses. *Noblesse oblige*: What account, then, does the Indian student give of himself?

What the National Movement Means to Students.

The most significant of the many complex phenomena which India presents in these days of rapid growth and change, is the fact of the National Movement — to-day the dominant fact of

¹ These figures are taken from the Indian Year Book, 1927, published by the *Times of India*, Bombay.

student life and thought. To a great many students God speaks through India : to some He speaks through India alone.

In 1920-22, Indian students responded in a small measure to Mr. Gandhi's message of Non-co-operation ; not because (as some fanciful people would have us believe), Bolshevik poison had found its way into their anaemic minds, but for the very simple reason that non-co-operation seemed to offer a sufficient channel for their growing national consciousness. Here it must be clearly stated that the National Movement means, to a great many minds, little more than strong national sentiment. But that is not the complete truth. Witness the testimony of a shrewd Anglican Missionary.

" At least India's political leaders are not mere agitators, out for what they can get, nor do fifteen thousand young men of education go to jail for the fun of it. The mild Hindu has grit to-day. Nationalism has introduced a virile strain of sacrifice into Indian political life². "

My memory of the stormy days of non-co-operation is still green. I was studying in a government college in a tame Indian State. But we were all moved, and some of us responded to Gandhi's appeal. One of my classmates, a brilliant student and a man of spotless character, a Brahmin, left College, trained himself in the art of spinning and weaving and settled down in a humble national school in his village to live a life of love and service, and to be a centre of light for his simple neighbours. Simple, unobtrusive acts such as his were numerous in those days. They are no less so to-day ; only we take less notice of them.

A Latent Heroism.

If the average student does not spin, it does not mean that his heart is not with Gandhi, — " the spirit is willing but the flesh is weak. " He does wear Khaddar occasionally, and he would wear it more frequently if he could learn to wash his own clothes ! The well-to-do student wears European clothes, but no longer does he look down upon his fellows who wear only Indian dress. There is practically no *hatred* of the foreign ; there is, in the minds of many, aggressive respect for the Indian. Once this last is assured, true Indian catholicity will appear, and India will welcome and take full advantage of contact with other peoples.

If some of the very best of us could truly appraise the impli-

¹ Holland in " *The Indian Outlook*. "

cations of Gandhi's present programme as offered in the Spinners' Association and get rid of the notion that by throwing ourselves into it we would be limiting the scope of our usefulness, hundreds of students would follow the Mahatma's lead. But the sensation-loving press and the politician wedded to dramatic methods of work and busy seeking short-cuts to national emancipation, will not give the students a chance.

There is latent heroism in the Indian student ; but there is not a big enough leader with a big enough programme to draw it out. There is Gandhi ; but political India will not give him a fair chance.

Here I must address a few plain words to my foreign Christian readers. Reading the above they are sure to say : " But surely Christ is big enough ". Yes ; *He is big enough*. But His messengers are not : and they will insist on making a dwarf of even Him. Those who dominate the field to-day are " whites." And they have failed miserably to grasp the inner meaning of the National Movement. They take their stand on the tradition of organized Christianity. They are out " to save souls " The young Indian wants to save *India, not Indian Souls Minus India*.

The white messenger wants the young Indian to develop a Christian international outlook, a " Human-brotherhood-God's-family " outlook, if I may say so. The young Indian understands ; he is attracted ; but he will not agree. Not yet. For, he notes, the messenger is content to see his own country develop a " My-Race-Supreme " mind.

This is truth plainly, perhaps bitterly, spoken. But this is how the Indian student feels.

The Need for Self-Discipline.

Of organized movements, there is not much to report. An *All-India* Conference and a few Provincial Conferences are held, at which a great many pious and spirited resolutions are passed. Hardly anyone takes them seriously. Usually the thing is done for the fun of it. For the last two or three years, Youth Conferences and Congresses have been gaining in popularity. Their best service lies, probably, in the fact that they bring together so many youths from a number of provinces. But one cannot help the impression that there is little of earnest contact of mind with mind.

The more one lives with students, the more one feels the weakness and even the lack of organized "worthwhile" movements among them. They are so accustomed to the spectacular and impotent methods of the Indian politician of to-day that a programme of social service which demands sustained enthusiasm and protracted effort will often leave a representative group, in the main, cold. They need to be more disciplined, — as the whole country does, — till self-discipline [shall] become almost an instinct. This perhaps is our biggest need.

In a representative student group, it is safe to expect, speaking generally, an atmosphere of moral health. Certain morbid and obsessed minds have led a great many people in the world to imagine that Indian students must be thinking dirty "sex" thoughts half the day. There could not be a blacker lie. Men-students, it is true, can be seen staring at prettily-dressed modern Indian girls. But there is nothing essentially evil in that. They are faced with a comparatively new phenomenon. They are seeing women in new surroundings, and in some ways with new eyes. Young men and women are slowly learning to talk to each other as they talk among members of their own sex. There is great need to guard against the usual dangers of reaction; but even greater is the need to promote healthy social intercourse between the sexes.

The Lack of True Religion.

Deep spiritual experience, intimate fellowship with God, the assurance that God has a purpose for the world, for the individual — all that we call deep religion is not the possession of the average Indian student of to-day. There is an awareness of God's existence in the general atmosphere of the land; and that does enter into his outlook — even unconsciously. Social rules and religious ceremonies, caste and community loyalties, he is familiar with. To many religion means nothing more than these.

The number of those who relish the writings of Bertrand Russell and Bernard Shaw is increasing. The number of those who regard organized religion, even religion in any form, as a danger to humanity, and specially to the progress of India, is also increasing. The Arya Samaj and some other young religious movements are alive among students not so much for their

spiritual significance but as living revolts against alien ascendancy, as emblems of *Swadharma*.

The Indian student does not follow Christ. He has yet to meet Him and to know Him. When he meets Him he will do Him homage — in his own way. What that way will be, we may speculate, but we cannot tell. And I have no doubt that when that happens, he will fall down and worship Him.

Résumé français.

Dans l'Inde, ce qui retarde le plus le mouvement de reconstruction nationale, c'est l'insuffisance de l'éducation nationale. Et non dans un pays de plus de 300 millions d'habitants ! Pourquoi ? Rensay Mac Donald, dans son livre, *The Awakening of India*, a su très bien mettre le doigt sur la plaie. Tout ce qu'il y a de gens cultivés dans ce pays par un système même devenu très ancien d'éducation ne se habilitent pas à diriger les affaires du pays, et pour des raisons qui sont évidentes.

I. C'est tout d'abord le manque de direction des masses. En prenant conscience de sa situation, le peuple indien se trouve le qu'on le dirait, aperçoit que son développement est entravé par ce système de direction et de contrôle, sans la sauvegarde lui-même, et s'alarme à mesure que la lourde tâche de l'indépendance s'élève. Mais, au lieu de bien avoir ce point objectif principal d'assurer la suprématie britannique, de former des sujets, non des citoyens. En lieu et place, on a de nombreux universitaires, universitaires actuels, le genre indien, qu'on dirait, et on a une obéissance que d'initiative.

II. Il y a, dans l'Inde, environ 63.000 étudiants et 1.800 étudiantes dont 1.000 au plus sont Chrétiens. Le pourcentage des habitants instruits est de 6 pour cent, hommes, de 1,2 pour cent, femmes, contre absolument insignifiant pour l'Europe. Le grand défaut des universitaires, ce qu'ils prennent à tâche d'atteindre, sera obtenu par le succès.

III. Un des phénomènes significatifs est l'importance prise par le Mouvement national : il domine aujourd'hui toute la vie et la pensée de l'étudiant. En 1920, tous les étudiants furent émus par l'appel de Gandhi pour la non-coopération, mais n'y répondirent qu'incomplètement ; quelques-uns quittèrent les Collèges, apprirent à tisser, ouvrirent de modestes écoles de villages. Encore aujourd'hui, de tels faits ne sont pas rares, mais on les remarque moins. Beaucoup, sans suivre cet exemple, n'en sont pas moins de cœur avec Gandhi. L'étudiant aisé est vêtu à l'euro-péenne, mais ne méprise plus son camarade qui porte le costume national. L'étudiant indien ne hait pas l'étranger ; ce qu'il y a d'agressif dans son attitude pour faire respecter sa race disparaîtra quand le respect sera obtenu.

Si le programme d'action de Gandhi était apprécié à sa valeur, des centaines d'étudiants le suivraient.

Il y a dans l'étudiant indien un héroïsme latent ; ce qui manque, c'est un chef vraiment grand. Il y aurait Gandhi, mais la politique de l'Inde s'oppose à son action.

IV. « Le Christ n'est-il pas un chef assez grand ? » dira le lecteur chrétien. Si, mais Ses messagers ne le sont pas et veulent le rapetisser à

Movements of Student Life and Thought

(B) *Among Women Students*¹

By Miss L. DEVASATAYAM.

Some one said at the recent Social Conference held in connection with the Indian National Congress at Madras in December 1927: "This is the Age of Women!" And it did seem true; for at that Conference, where representatives from all parts of India had gathered to discuss measures of social reform, women seemed to take the lead. The reforms proposed, — practically all of them, — were directed towards improving the lot of women in India, by raising the age of marriage, by the removal of the Purdah system and the Dowry system, also by changing Hindu law so as to give women a fair share of the father's inheritance. The speakers on these subjects were more than half of them women, and they spoke as forcefully and as eloquently as the men. These women speakers are now going round the country holding meetings in order to make those resolutions known and to get the support of the public. They have great zeal for social service and spend their time and energy trying to educate public opinion; and strange though it may seem, they are practically all of them non-Christian women. This is largely due to the fact that English Theosophist women have been helping to organise women's Associations in the cities of India and causing the educated Hindu women of leisure to take the lead in the fight for women's rights.

Social Service in Christian Circles.

Christian women are as keen on Service as their non-Christian sisters, but they give expression to it in slightly different ways. A great many are doing paid work as teachers, knowing that the future of India depends on the education of its future citizens.

¹ The background of this article is primarily student life in South India.

Some of them are keen on church work and organise sales and concerts in aid of Church funds. The Women's Auxiliary of the National Missionary Society raises by its annual sale the sum of Rs. 3000 (£200) every year. £200 may not strike you as being a large sum of money, but in a community that cannot boast of many men of wealth, to raise even £200 involves much thinking and hard work for many people. Two college women are doing Christian work in a village on entirely original lines. They are making Christ known to the villagers by being good neighbours to them — helping, healing, teaching, giving, receiving, visiting and praying among them as Jesus himself did among his neighbours. Another graduate belonging to a high class Christian community is working in conjunction with a European missionary among outcaste women and children. Among several students at college there is a desire to render service to the down-trodden and the depressed and a willingness to make sacrifices for this ; but there is also the pull of western civilisation with its increase of material wants to cause them to inhibit and stifle these generous impulses. The desire to earn so as to live comfortably and to dress well, — and also sometimes the needs of the family, — prevent the realisation of these noble desires.

While at college many women students do some social work and Baby Welfare work in the neighbouring villages. During the holidays some of them made an attempt to run vacation schools of the type that have been tried in China with so much success. One could quote other manifestations at college of the desire for social service, but to keep it up and to give expression to it in practical ways in later life seems difficult.

In general, educated Indian women are not politically minded, but they are patriotic. They are anxious to appreciate everything that is beautiful in India while at the same time they cannot but appreciate things that are beautiful in the West. They are very willing to make friends with their western sisters, but they are also very sensitive to slights, real or imaginary, put upon them as Indians.

Changing Social Life.

In social life, Indian women are slowly but surely breaking free of their shackles, the time honoured customs. The love and loyalty to the old folks at home remains the same, but the desire to go about freely to places, to visit their friends in their homes,

to find their recreation in games, music and folk-dancing, to go to the cinema and other places of amusement, is felt by most young people. One must realise however that the class of educated women who form the subject of this article is a very small minority indeed.

With regard to religion, some students have the extraordinary power of clinging to the crude ideas of their childhood in spite of being submitted to a scientific study of the Bible through four years of college life. Others become so full of questions in their own minds that they do not know if we ought to evangelise at all, especially when, as they say, so many non-Christians are much better people than we are.

The Student Christian Movement in India

Past, Present and Future

By the Rev. E.C. DEWICK.

A. The Past.

The past history of the "Student Christian Association of India, Burma, and Ceylon," (otherwise known, from its initials, as "Scaibac"), falls naturally into three main periods :

1. 1884-1896. The period of separate "Student Y.M.C.A.s"
2. 1896-1912. The period of central organisation under the Indian Y.M.C.A.
3. 1912 to the present day. The period of an independent Student Movement in India.

Period I. 1884-1896.

In the College compound at Vaddukoddai, a little Tamil village in Northern Ceylon, which still remains far from the noise of railway or city, there stands under the palm-trees a long low white building, on the wall of which will be found a tablet, recording the birth of the Student Christian Movement in India at this spot, 44 years ago. One would like to picture the scene, which has proved to be so full of after-results for many of the young men of India ; but few details seem now to be available. We know, however, that Frank A. Sanders, then a "Short-Service Professor" at Jaffna College in Vaddukoddai, who had come under the spell of the Student Christian Movement in America, gathered around him a little group of Christian students, and with them formed the first "Student Young Men's Christian Association", not only in Ceylon, but in the whole of Asia.

Only two years later, in 1886, the first "Student Y.M.C.A." was started on the actual soil of India : at Pasumalai, the Theological College of the American Mission at Madura, in South India.

During the next twelve years, a number of similar Student Y.M.C.A.s sprang up in various Mission Colleges throughout India. Two of the first American Y.M.C.A. Secretaries in India, David MConaughy and L.D. Wishard, gave themselves with energy to this work, from 1890 onwards; and in 1893 they were joined by Robert P. Wilder, who founded the Student Volunteer Movement in India, which did valuable work in arousing a "missionary spirit" among Indian students. Ceylon, Madras, Calcutta, and Poona, were the main centres of Student Y.M.C.A. work at this time. In most cases, the "soil" in which the work was able to flourish was provided by the Christian Colleges, founded by the Missionary Societies in England, Scotland, and America. Thus, the Missionary Societies on the one hand, and the Y.M.C.A. on the other, may be regarded as the foster-parents of the Student Christian Movement in India. One by one these "Student Y.M.C.A.s" increased, until by 1895 there were a dozen of them in existence. But so far, there was no organic link binding them together; they were "Congregational Churches"

Period II. 1896-1912.

In the winter of 1895-6, John R. Mott, the first Secretary of the "National Council of the Indian Y.M.C.A. Student Christian Federation", visited India. His object was to "organize" for Students in all the leading Colleges. At the close of his tour, it was decided to unite the existing Christian Associations in schools and colleges, now numbering 22, in a central organization, to be known as "The Intercollegiate Young Men's Christian Association of India and Ceylon", the control of which (and also of the Student Volunteer Movement in India) was entrusted to the "College Committee" of the National Council of the Indian Y.M.C.A. Thus for the next sixteen years, the Student Movement in India was practically a "department" of the Indian Y.M.C.A. — just as is even now the case in some countries, notably the United States of America.

During this period, the Movement grew in many directions. Conferences and Camps were held in many areas. In 1900, there were thirty affiliated Associations, with a total membership of 1323 students. In 1901, when Dr. Mott again visited India, a United South India Camp was held, with over 100 delegates. The Movement now had centres of work in all parts of India; including some areas (e.g., Assam) which are unoccupied at the present time. Many of the Secretaries, both foreign and Indian,

who served the Movement at this time, have since become well-known figures in public life. Among these may be mentioned the first National Student Secretaries of the Indian Y.M.C.A., J. Campbell White and G. Sherwood Eddy, and (after 1908) V.S. Azariah, now Bishop of Dornakal; S.K. Datta, B.C. Sircar, and B.L. Rallia Ram among Indians; L.P. Larsen, J.N. Farquhar, and J.H. Oldham among foreigners.

Period III. 1912-1928.

In 1912 Dr. John R. Mott paid his third visit to India; and this was made the occasion for the first "All-India Student Conference", at Serampore, the historic Missionary College in Bengal. The real inspiration for this great effort came from a small "Retreat" of 17 Students, held at Dharampur, in the Simla Hills, in May 1912, when the members present gained a clear conviction that this "forward move" was now definitely a "Call" from God. The All-India Student Conference was therefore summoned for December; and nearly 200 students came, and met for six days, under the Chairmanship of Dr. Mott. At the close, it was resolved that a new and independent body should be formed to take charge of the work hitherto done by the Inter-Collegiate Y.M.C.A., and should be known as "The Student Christian Association of India and Ceylon," affiliated to the World's Student Christian Federation, with a General Committee, containing three elements: (1) Students, (2) Delegates of the National Missionary Societies, (3) Delegates of the Y.M.C.A. and with Frank V. Stebbins, D.D., as its first Secretary. This constitution has remained substantially the same for the last sixteen years ever since "Serampore".

In 1915, Mr. A.A. Paul was appointed General Secretary of the S.C.A., and for thirteen years has rendered devoted and self-sacrificing service in its cause. During this period, the following points deserve special notice:

(a) The All-India Student Conference has been made a "Quadrennial event"; and has been held successively in each quarter of India. Serampore in East India (Bengal) was, as we have seen, the first of these Conferences; then came Agra (North India) in 1916, Poona (West India) in 1920, and Madras (South India) in 1924; while the 5th "Quadrennial" is now being planned for the end of this year, again in Madras. It is difficult to over-estimate the inspiration which these large Student-conferences have brought to the Movement in India.

(b) The present "Aim and Basis" of the S.C.A. was adopted in 1920, at the Poona Conference. Burma had now joined the Movement and its title is therefore "The S.C.A. of India, Burma and Ceylon." Space does not allow us to quote the Aim and Basis *in extenso*; but a few extracts will show that it lays stress on *experience* rather than credal formulas, that it lays down no obligations of Church-membership, and thus leaves the door open to a wide circle of all who seek to follow the Way of Christ.

"The Association is a fellowship of students who desire to live by their faith in Jesus Christ as the Supreme Revelation of God and of His purpose of love for men;

Who seek to explore the meaning of that Revelation by all the means proved by Christian experience...; to apprehend, preserve, and rejoice in all that is good in the ancient religions of their people;

Who believe in the power and purpose of God to transform men and to regenerate every aspect of life... personal and social, in industry and commerce, in law and education, in national and international affairs."

Such an "Aim and Basis" is surely worthy of the best traditions of courage and adventure which have been the peculiar heritage of the Student Movements all over the world.

(c) A third point of note is the number of *International contacts* between Indian students and those overseas, which have been promoted through the agency of the Indian Student Movement. These have been mutual. On the one hand, the Indian Movement has invited, from time to time, Student-leaders from other lands to visit India and speak to Indian Students. Among these we may mention Dr. Hurrey from America, Dr. Glover and Mr. Maltby from England, Mr. T.Z. Koo of China, Mr. Max Yergan of the Negro Movement in South Africa, M. Henriod of Switzerland, etc. Then on the other hand, numbers of Indian student-leaders have gone to International Conferences, as delegates of the Indian S.C.A. and have thereby gained immensely in breadth of vision and understanding. The first of these Indian delegations was to the Tokyo W.S.C.F. Conference in 1907, and included, among others, Mr. (now Bishop) Azariah and the Rev. F. Kingsbury from South India, Rev. B.C. Sircar from Bengal, Professor Sirajuddin and Miss Lalit Singh from the Punjab. At Pekin (1922) India

was represented by eleven delegates, including A.A. Paul and A.M.K. Cumaraswamy. Besides these, the W.S.C.F. General Committee meetings, at Lake Mohonk (U.S.A.), Beatenberg (Switzerland), High Leigh (England), and Nyborg (Denmark) have all been attended by Indian representatives. Such wider contacts have been invaluable, especially in a land such as India, where Nationalism is of the very warp and woof of life and thought, as a reminder that no nation can to-day ignore those manifold ties which, for good or for evil, link the members of the human family together under the conditions of modern life.

The actual lines of work in the Indian Student Movement have probably not been very far different from those of other lands. Bible-Circles and Study-Circles, Camps and Conferences, have formed the main activities; while the spirit of Christian Service has found expression in various activities, notably on occasions of great national disasters, such as India knows all too well. In the great Flood-distress of 1924 the Indian S.C.A., besides providing many volunteers for relief-work, also raised a sum of nearly Rs. 6,000 for the help of the homeless and hungry.

The Movement Among Women Students.

So far, we have had in mind primarily the work among Men-students. But for the last thirty years, there has also been a parallel movement among the women-students of India. In recent years, there has been increasing co-operation between the two departments of the work; and the proposed visit of the W.S.C.F. General Committee to India this year is at the joint invitation of the two Student Movements, — the S.C.A., and the Student Department of the Y.W.C.A., which is responsible for the Women's work in the Indian Colleges. We are indebted to Miss Schaeffer, National Student Secretary of the Y.W.C.A., for the following account of the past history of the Women's Student Movement in India :

“ The University women in the Bombay Missionary Settlement, among whom Mary Dobson was one of the leaders, began their first attempts at student work in 1898, largely among European and Parsee students. Meanwhile Agnes Hill had been forming Student Branches, and in 1898 twenty such in colleges and schools were reported as in existence, sixteen in the North and four in the South. Finally co-operation resulted in the formation of the Student Y.W.C.A.; and in the new scheme, Ruth Rouse became the first General Secretary, with Agnes de

Selincourt as student-worker in the United Provinces and Punjab. Conferences began with the North India Student Camp at Ambala in 1899, and a more general one at Ennore, near Madras, in 1900. The 1908 delegates included students, teachers, and scholars, and good work made the reputation of Miss Dobson was one of its features. In 1902, a Secretary arrived to take charge of the Hostel for women students opened by the Madras Y.W.C.A.

A further stage was reached in 1921 when Elizabeth Zachariah after three years' experience in Madras became the first Indian National Travelling Student Secretary. The women students in India were represented at the Peking W.S.C.F. Committee by two Indian student secretaries, and in 1923 a conference which was actually and not only nominally an All India Women Students' Conference met in Calcutta.

Within three years the Association had increased to include the Association of the leadership of the movement, including three student workers. The calls of Indian life make it difficult for women to undertake work which entails publicity and travelling. Our first need to-day is for wise Indian leadership on committees, even if the secretarial staff cannot be entirely Indian. At present, the Movement is financed by foreign money, staffed with one exception by foreign secretaries, and its work directed largely by committees of foreigners.

To-day the post-matriculation women students, both Indian and European, in Arts, Sciences and Medical Colleges, Medical schools and Training colleges, number about 3000, of whom about 1100 are Christian; and of these, about half belong to the Y.W.C.A. In face of the ignorance of the masses and the lack of unity in the country, the task that lies before us is that of promoting the support of the non-Christian students in the service of their country, and of welding educated women into a force inspired by the spirit of Jesus Christ."

Such are the main outlines of the story of the Student Movement in India, Burma and Ceylon both among men and women, during its past, which now covers nearly half a century.

B. The Present.

To try and present a picture of the S.C.A. of India as it is in 1928, is to depict a strange mixture of courage and struggle, magnificent opportunities and baffling difficulties. The field is enormous — 2,000 miles from the Himalayas to the Equator and

the same from East to West; branches in over fifty Colleges, an immense student population of nearly 70,000 in all India, with a *Christian Student* body of nearly 3,000; — there is no lack of opportunity here! Nor is there any unwillingness on the student side to welcome the S.C.A. Secretaries. On the contrary, the most common of all criticisms is, that their visits are not frequent *enough*! But how is it possible for a staff consisting of one General Secretary, one full-time travelling secretary, and one secretary shared between the S.C.A. and the Daily Vacation Bible Study Movement, to cover so vast a field? Yet that is all the staff that the Indian S.C.A. possesses; and their work has to be done under conditions — such as constant third-class night-travel in India — which wear out the toughest constitution. Even then, the budget (under Rs. 10,000 per annum) barely covers the outlay. Yet this does not mean that Indian students are lukewarm in their support. The treasurer, in his report for 1926, pointed out that while in the British Student Movement, the students themselves only subscribe *one-tenth* of the total income, in India they subscribe *one-sixth*. In view of the poverty of Indian students, this one sixth represents real sacrificial giving in many cases. But the total is hopelessly inadequate to the work undertaken; and the resultant understaffing and overwork form no small part of the burden and problem of all Indian S.C.A. secretaries.

But behind the financial problem lie others. The flood-tide of National enthusiasm, while it stimulates some of the finest qualities in Indian student-life, also brings perplexing challenges. For instance, at this time, when all potent Powers are realizing the supreme need for national unity as a first prerequisite for national freedom, a Movement which at least appears to emphasize religious distinctions within the nation is bound to be regarded by many with misgivings, as of doubtful value to the cause of the Motherland. Nor is the international outreach of the Movement altogether an asset in the eyes of India to-day; for Internationalism (like the League of Nations) is widely suspected of being in reality only another of the "stalking-horses of Imperialism", or at any rate, an ideal which is irrelevant and premature for nations which have not yet won their own independence.

In the religious sphere, too, the situation is difficult for the S.C.A. Indian students are aware (sometimes vaguely, sometimes acutely) that great changes have come over Christian theology in recent years; they observe that the old clear-cut

missionary-message has generally given place to-day to a note which, while much more "sympathetic", is also much less distinct. On all sides, they hear among their Hindu friends the popular saying, that "All Religions are equally true"; and often, even among Christians, there seems to be an inclination to assent to this; or at least, a hesitation in meeting it with intelligence and conviction.

Above all, there seems to be a lack to-day of that deep, overpowering *assurance* based upon religious experience, which characterized many of the converts from Hinduism to Christianity a generation ago, and which impelled them, under whatever intellectual or moral limitations, to pass on the message and life which they had received from Christ. To-day, the average Christian student in India often seems so uncertain as to the real content of the Christian message, that he stands hesitant before the Open Door, wondering whether to give first place in his life to the Call of India or the Call of Christ; — or whether perhaps the two Calls are, in truth, One.

G. The Future.

He who would assay to forecast the future must be either very wise or very rash; especially when the field is vast, and the factors complex. Enough has been said to show how great are the opportunities of the present, among a young manhood stirring with new hopes and high ideals; sensitive to affront but quick to respond to any genuine note of comradeship and service. Our survey of the past, too, has revealed that even a "little flock" of Christian students can achieve great results in India, if only their message is clear, and their conviction unswerving.

But is it likely that such results will be achieved by the Indian S.C.A. in the future? At present, its message, (like that of the Church at large in India) seems to lack real freshness and inspiration. The "forms of sound words" inherited from the past are repeated; but they do not ring altogether true to the deepest convictions and aspirations of young Indian hearts to-day. There is urgent need for a recovery of that note of "personal witness", based on the experience of Christ in the heart, which, while not forgetting the need for a humble confession of our own failures, is yet prepared to point to "Christ in the Lives of His Followers", as one of the chief Credentials of Christianity.

The future of the Indian Student Movement will depend upon the quality of its own experience of Christ, and the measure of

inspiration and conviction which springs therefrom. If the visit of the W.S.C.F. delegates brings to India a fresh vision of what Christ can do, and has done, both in the hearts of men and in the destinies of nations, at divers times and in divers places and peoples, then surely we may feel confident that our Movement will go forward, in the light of that vision, to new and higher enterprises in the cause of Christ and His Love.

Why I am a Hindu¹

By Mahatma Gandhi.

An American friend, who subscribes herself as a lifelong friend of India, writes :

"As Hinduism is one of the prominent religions of the East, and as you have made a study of Christianity and Hinduism, and on the basis of that study have announced that you are a Hindu, I beg leave to ask you if you will do me the favour to give me your reasons for that choice. Hindus and Christians alike realize that man's chief need is to know God and to worship Him in spirit and in truth. Believing that Christ was a revelation of God, Christians of America have sent to India thousands of their sons and daughters to tell the people of India about Christ. Will you in return kindly give us your interpretation of Hinduism and make a comparison of Hinduism with the teachings of Christ? I will be deeply grateful for this favour."

I have suffered at several times in my life from the English and American missionaries who have been in India for years "telling" India about Christ and had merely lived the life enjoined upon them by the Sermon on the Mount. India instead of accepting the message of love and non-violence, has become a land of hatred and bloodshed. I do not believe in people telling others of their faith, especially with a view to conversion. Faith does not admit of telling. It has to be lived and then it becomes self-propagating.

Nor do I consider myself fit to interpret Hinduism except through my own life. And if I may not interpret Hinduism through my written word, I may not compare it with Christianity. The only thing it is possible for me therefore to do is to say as briefly as I can, why I am a Hindu.

¹ Reprinted from "Young India" Oct. 20, 1927.

Believing as I do in the influence of heredity, being born in a Hindu family, I have remained a Hindu. I should reject it, if I found it inconsistent with my moral sense or my spiritual growth. On examination I have found it to be the most tolerant of all religions known to me. Its freedom from dogma makes a forcible appeal to me in as much as it gives the votary the largest scope for self-expression. Not being an exclusive religion, it enables the followers of that faith not merely to respect all the other religions, but it also enables them to admire and assimilate whatever may be good in the other faiths. Non-violence is common to all religions, but it has found the highest expression and application in Hinduism. (I do not regard Jainism or Buddhism as separate from Hinduism.) Hinduism believes in the oneness not merely of all human life but in the oneness of all that lives. Its worship of the cow is, in my opinion, its unique contribution to the evolution of humanitarianism. It is a practical application of the belief in the oneness and, therefore, sacredness, of all life. The great belief in transmigration is a direct consequence of that belief. Finally the discovery of the law of *Varnashrama* is a magnificent result of the ceaseless search for truth. I must not burden this article with definitions of the essentials sketched here, except to say that the present ideas of cow worship and *Varnashrama* are a caricature of what in my opinion the originals are. The curious may see the definitions of cow worship and *Varnashrama* in the previous numbers of *Young India*. I hope to have to say on *Varnashrama* in the near future. In this all too brief a sketch I have mentioned what occur to me to be the outstanding features of Hinduism that keep me in its fold.

Deutsche Uebersetzung.

Eine unserer amerikanischen Freunde, die sich für ewig mit Indien in Freundschaft verbunden erklärt, schrieb an mich folgendes:

„Da der Hinduismus eine der bedeutendsten Religionen des Ostens ist, und Sie sich sowohl in das Christentum als auch in den Hinduismus eingehend eingelesen haben, so über den nach Beendigung dieser Studie, die ich in der Hindu- und Christenheit habe, habe ich Sie, um die Gründe zu nennen, die mich zu dieser Wahl ausschlaggebend waren. Ob Hindu, ob Christ, was ist es, das die Hauptsache ist, ist es, Götter zu erkennen und ihre Güte und die der Wahrheit anzubeten. Wenn wir glauben, dass Gott ein Christ oder Mensch gewesen ist, haben wir Christen aus. Wenn wir glauben, dass er Kinder und Frauen

gesandt, um den Indern von Christus zu erzählen. Wollen Sie als Antwort darauf uns ihre Darlegung des Hinduismus geben und gleichzeitig einen Vergleich zwischen Hinduismus und der Lehre Jesu? Ich wäre Ihnen dafür sehr dankbar."

Ich habe anlässlich verschiedener Missionsversammlungen den englischen und amerikanischen Missionaren oft gesagt, dass, wenn sie nur darauf verzichten könnten, den Indern von Christus zu „reden“ und wenn sie einfach das Leben leben würden, welches ihnen in der Bergpredigt gezeigt ist, die Inder froh wären, die Christen unter sich zu haben und sie würden, anstatt ihnen zu misstrauen, grosse Bereicherung durch sie haben. Da ich nun einmal dieser Ansicht bin, kann ich den amerikanischen Freunden auch etwas über den Hinduismus „erzählen“, gewissermassen als „Antwort“. Ich habe es nicht für gut angesehen, gläubigen Menschen vom eigenen Glauben zu sprechen mit dem Hintergrundgedanken einer Bekehrung. Ueber Glauben sollte man nicht reden, man sollte ihn leben und in dieser Form nur sich selbst befehlen lassen.

Ausserdem glaube ich nicht, dass z. B. der Hinduismus anders zu deuten denn allein durch mein Leben. Und ebenso wie ich Hinduismus nicht durch ein geschriebenes Wort wiedergeben mag, so mag ich ihn auch nicht mit dem Christentum vergleichen. Das einzige also, was mir übrigbleibt, ist zu sagen, warum ich ein Hindu bin.

Da ich an die Einflüsse der Vererbung glaube und in einer Hindu-familie geboren bin, blieb ich Hindu. Ich würde mich losgelöst haben, wenn ich diese Religion mit meiner Moral und meinem geistigen Wachstum nicht hätte vereinbaren können. Ich habe aber nach langen Studien gefunden, dass er unter den mir bekannten Religionen die toleranteste ist. Frei von jeglichem Dogma bietet er die weitesten Möglichkeiten, sich seiner Wesensart entsprechend frei auszudrücken und sagt mir darum sehr zu. Da er sich nicht streng absondert, erlaubt er seinen Anhängern, nicht nur die anderen Religionen zu achten, sondern auch sie zu bewundern und sich aus ihnen das Beste anzueignen. — Der vollkommene Anschluss von Christen zu allen Religionen ist aber das Prinzip, das seiner stärksten Ausdruck und weisse Verehrung im Hinduismus gefunden. (Für mich sind Jainismus und Buddhismus nicht vom Hinduismus getrennt.) Der Hinduismus glaubt nicht nur an die Einheit des Lebens der Menschen sondern ebenso an die aller Lebewesen. Seine Verehrung der Kuh ist, meiner Meinung nach, das von ihm gewählte einzigartige Ausdrucksmittel seines Humanitätsprinzips. Es ist die praktische Anwendung seines Glaubens an die Einheit und damit an die Heiligkeit alles Lebens. Der starke Glaube an Seelenwandering ist eine direkte logische Folge dieser Idee. Einlich ist die Darstellung des Geistes *Varnashrama* ein wunderbar es Ereignis des menschlichen Lebens nach Weibem. Ich habe diesen Artikel nicht mit dem meiste über die wesentlichen Punkte, die ich hier angedeutet habe, um zu zeigen, dass der augenblickliche Geistes der Verehrung der Kuh und *Varnashrama* ein Zerrbild sind von dem, was sie meiner Meinung nach ursprünglich waren. Wer sich für diese Fragen interessiert, kann die Definitionen über Kuhverehrung und *Varnashrama* in früheren Ausgaben der Zeitschrift „*Young India*“ finden. In dieser allzu kurzen Skizze habe ich lediglich die wesentlichsten Eigenarten des Hinduismus zeigen wollen, die mich in seinem Bann halten.

Résumé français.

Une Américaine, amie de l'Inde, a demandé à M. Gandhi pourquoi, ayant étudié les religions Chrétienne et Indoue, il demeure fidèle à l'Indouisme. Les Américains, voyant en Jésus la révélation de Dieu, envoient des milliers de leurs enfants parler de Lui aux Indiens. En retour, elle demande à Gandhi de lui dire comment il interprète l'Indouisme et de le comparer au Christianisme.

Gandhi répond qu'il a souvent dit aux missionnaires américains que, s'ils s'en abstenaient de *parler* aux Indiens du Christ, s'ils avaient seulement vécu conformément au Sermon sur la Montagne, l'Inde aurait apprécié leur présence et en aurait profité. Ne croyant pas à l'utilité de *parler* au profit de sa foi, comme il n'aurait en retour *parlé* aux Américains de l'Inde, que sa vie lui a été la seule interprétation possible de sa religion, et pour en rendre une meilleure idée, il ne peut la formuler au Christianisme.

Il ne lui reste donc qu'à dire pourquoi il est Indou. D'abord, parce que, né de parents Indous, il est un fils d'une de l'Inde. L'autant abandonne sa religion s'il l'avait trouvée en concurrence avec ses convictions morales et son développement social. Il n'en est pas de nous, tolérance, de nous exclusive. Le *varnashrama* s'applique à tous les castes, à tous les degrés de la vie, sans être exclusif. Le *varnashrama* est une loi qui ne se sépare pas de la loi du karma et du Dharma. L'Indouisme est la racine humaine et sacrée. Le *varnashrama* est une affirmation de l'unité humaine et symbolise l'identité de l'homme avec tout ce qui vit. La loi du *varnashrama* est le résultat admirable d'une incessante recherche de la vérité. Gandhi croit au culte de la vache et au *varnashrama* dans leur sens originel, plus élevé que le sens actuel.

Ces sont, brièvement exposés, quelques-uns des caractères auxquels l'Indouisme doit de conserver dans son sein Mahatma Gandhi.

“Why I Have not Changed my Religion”

By D. B. ELLEPOLA¹.

I am asked to explain the faith that is in me. It seems to me that my beliefs are founded on no definite religious “knowledge” and they are, therefore, open to the criticism of every inquirer. My task becomes doubly difficult, for I admit that though I can lay claim to some knowledge of Christianity I have but very little knowledge of Buddhism. Therefore what follows must not be regarded as the considered opinion of one who has made a comparative study of the religious philosophies and creeds of to-day.

Tradition and Heritage.

My chief reason for being a Buddhist is that I was born a Buddhist, and I shall remain such until and unless I can present to my mind some other religious faith which I profess, however much that religion itself may fall short of the truth. Of the full truth of that religion I do not ask to be convinced. That it was the faith of the fathers of millions to-day of my own kith and kin, that the people of all nations have a similar mental vision, similar abilities to conceive of the truth, is an assurance in itself that there is a degree of truth in this Buddhist religion that I profess. Because of my respect and affection for my people, there exists within my mind a respect and affection for these beliefs too. If I can convince myself that some other creed is *the* truth; then only will I lose this respect and affection for the creed of my fathers, which is in me in spite of my own ignorance of its teachings. Then to me there can be no degree of truth, for truth indeed is one.

The only religious faith that I can claim to have had presented to me is the religion of Christ. I must claim that those who taught me that religion presented it in its most attractive form.

¹ The writer of this article belongs to one of the leading Buddhist communities in India, in Hyderabad, India. He was educated at a Christian College in Ceylon, and at the University of Cambridge, England. He now occupies an Government Service in Ceylon.

Some of them attempted so to live it that we who were their pupils might catch a glimpse of the saintly life which that " Master of men " lived on earth, and of what their faith in that " Master and Saviour " meant to them : that having caught this glimpse of the *pegi* life, they were the pupils of a *pegi* life on earth, if only we called Christ into our lives. Of the boundless love and the wondrous forgiving nature of God, the Father, and Christ his Son on the one hand, and the sinful nature of us mortals on the other, they never tired to tell us. Preached in that vein, Christianity could not but have its appeal. Times without number I have drawn for myself vivid mental pictures of that saintly Christ. I loved Christ more than I loved God.

The Ties of Family and Nation.

But I could not for ever silently adore Christ. It was when the necessity for *decision* came, that there came to me for the first time visions of what it might mean for me *not* to be a Buddhist. Then too for the first time I asked myself the question that every young man from a Buddhist home in a similar position must ask " How will my thoughts of conversion be received by those whom I hold near and dear to me ? " I had my answer in my own mind. " Will you bring eternal grief to those that are dear to you here below and to whom you owe your all, that you may for yourself obtain eternal life ? Does your Father in heaven will that you bring grief to those you hold dear to you, in order that you alone may find salvation ? " Alas for Christianity in Ceylon, that it should have to face this difficulty. So great it is, that it at times appears insurmountable to us.

One other aspect of what conversion might mean appeared to me. I asked myself whether a change of religion would not create an undesirable severance in my own *national* life. It appeared to me that to be Christian would be to be no more one of my people. The religion and customs of my people had grown together side by side for generations, the one borrowing freely from the other, so that they seemed to me to be inseparably interwoven. To be a Christian would be to lose for ever the link I had with my people of to-day and even of past generations. For could I be a Christian and yet feel my heart throb with people of past generations who have lived so much in the Buddhist faith ?

The Vain Search for a Synthesis.

But I was not satisfied by these reasons for being a Buddhist. It appeared to me that I was proving disobedient to the will of God for petty and lesser considerations. I was anxious to find some common ground in Buddhism and Christianity that I might cling to, and rid myself of mental inconvenience, whilst being free to profess my Buddhist faith. But it could not be. In their very essences these religions differed. Their methods of systematising their philosophical basis in dogma were entirely different. Christ would have us believe in an allmighty, all-loving God, who would help us and love us and take us into his presence or cast us into a hell according to whether we obeyed his will or not. But Buddha would say to us that nothing was permanent, everything was transient. There was no soul or "atman". The existence of any self or entity he would deny. Our deliverance was in our own hands. Prayers and other things which were essential in the teachings of Christ, were as nothing to the Buddha.

Where then was common ground that I might safely stand on? But fear of the cost would once again come to my aid. It created for me a critical turn of mind.

Did God exist, and if he did, where was this Heaven that Christ preached to us, and where this Hell? What proof has the Christian that God exists? Might it not be only a convenient conception of those who would refuse to look sufficiently deep into life for fear of seeing and admitting the sorrow that lies at the root, — that same sorrow which the Buddha saw and proved was the cause of life. Might it not be a conception necessary and possible only for those who see in life nothing beyond its apparent joys, and were these, that they acknowledged as joys, in reality so? I created for myself these doubts.

The Inability to Believe.

Was God loving, all merciful, all powerful? If it were so, how came it that there was suffering and sorrow on earth? Granted that sorrow had its healing nature, how came God to decide which of us should suffer on earth and which of us enjoy the luxuries and comforts of life? Could one suffer on earth with the doubtful prospect of consideration on Judgement Day? Is not the Buddhist attitude to this question, the acceptance that sorrow exists, and is that from which we must strive to seek deliverance, the more plausible theory? Does not Karma explain

more lucidly all differences in our conditions of life on earth? If again, God is loving and merciful, how comes it that he judges us sinful beings for eternity, on just a brief span of life on earth?

If the Christian derives his strength from the belief that the Father in heaven forgives his sins, is the Buddhist in reality at a disadvantage in life for want of an external forgiver? So long as the essential cause for forgiveness is repentance, can the Buddhist not claim that repentance brings into being a corresponding state of the mind which of necessity strengthens him?

These are but a few of many more questions that I have asked to convince myself that I should remain a Buddhist. I am asked what are my reasons, and these alone are what I can give. Not a belief in the teachings of the Buddha himself, but an inability (perhaps a deliberately created inability) to believe in the only religion that has ever been really " presented " to me, makes me still own " I am a Buddhist. "

Why I am a Christian?

An Indian Answer

By C.E. ABRAHAM.¹

I am grateful to the Editor for this opportunity for a compulsory self-examination, for the purpose of producing an *apologia pro fide mea*, though it is a daring feat for anyone to attempt to compress all that he has to say about the deepest things of life within the narrow compass of a few hundred words. The question that has been put to me is a straight-forward one and the reply too, I may assure my readers, shall be equally straight-forward.

A Christian Heritage.

(1) I am a Christian because my parents — and, by the way my ancestors for several generations and centuries together I believe too, — were Christians. My religion, like my birth, was not a matter of my own choice. It became my own with as little or no effort on my part as did my patrimony. I drank in my religion with my mother's milk and it was as natural for me to grow up into a Christian young man as it was for the Hindu boy born in the neighbouring house to repeat the *mantras*, to wear the sacred thread, to place the trident marks of Siva on his forehead or to go to the temple of *Kali* morning and evening for his *poojah*. In other words, I am a Christian because I was born of Christian parents, in a Christian home, in a Christian community, in a tolerably Christian country; and but for my environment and heredity it is doubtful if at any time I would have found myself among the followers of Christ.

While what I have said above serves as an explanation to my introduction to the Christian religion, it has by no means been the strongest argument with me for continuing in a path on which I was set by others before I came to the years of discretion. I

¹ The writer is a member of the ancient Syrian Church of St. Thomas in Malabar.

am a Christian and I continue to be a Christian because I choose to be a Christian of my own free will for the following chief reasons.

The Appeal of the Social Gospel.

(2) Christianity in my opinion supplies the highest ideal for the social life of man. I know of no other religion which holds forth such a high and liberal ideal in the different spheres of life such as the family, society, the nation and the world. The appeal of Christianity to me is in a very large measure due to the fact that Christ came that we may have life and have it more abundantly, and to declare the truth that makes men free. The Christian gospel is the *Magna Charta* of human liberty and equality. As one living in the twentieth century after Christ, and having some pretensions to mental and moral enlightenment and culture, the idea of treating woman as the property of man, looking down upon some of God's children as "untouchable" "unapproachables" or "niggers" on account of the mere accident of their birth or colour, consigning innocent little children to life-long widowhood out of deference to time-honoured social customs, crushing individuals or nations out of existence by sheer brute force, or holding subject countries in eternal submission to imperialistic ambitions by the strength of the sword, is, to say the least, utterly repugnant to that better nature which God has implanted in me. Christianity lays the axe to the root of social ostracism, racial hatred and imperialistic domination. It proclaims from the house-tops that freedom, equality and self-determination are the birthright of all men as the children of the same heavenly Father, without respect of sex, colour or birth. These privileges I believe are maintained in and fostered by the Christian religion to the fullest extent possible and it makes the brotherhood of man the logical outcome of the Fatherhood of God, which forms the core of the Christian gospel. The Christian conceptions of the family, as the mirror of the divine life, society as an organism and the world as the family of God are so fascinating in their appeal to my mind that I dare say they would be strong enough to convert me from any other faith to Christianity.

The Unique Element.

(3) Further, I am a Christian because to me there is none other like Christ among the sons of men. It is not possible to

say within the limited space at my disposal even a little of what Christ means to me without appearing to be dogmatic or commonplace. Christ stands for the highest moral and spiritual ideal that my heart is yearning for. Apart from Christ, it seems to me that truth, goodness and beauty are shorn of half their glory. It is Christ and Christ alone who has revealed to me the beauty of holiness and the loveliness of love. Aye, more : He is not only my Ideal but my Guide and Teacher as well. It is Jesus of Nazareth who has explored for me the Himalayan heights of the moral and spiritual life and who gives me courage and hope to undertake the adventure of scaling those dizzy peaks in His company as my guide. Even more : Christ is my Lord, my Saviour and my God. It is He who gives me strength when I am weak, who succours me when I am tempted to sin, who "beareth all my infirmities and healeth all my diseases," who restores to me the joy of His countenance when I repent of and confess my sins to Him, who gives me the peace that passeth all understanding and the joy which no man can take away when the storms of life are raging round the frail bark of my life, who leads me from strength to strength day by day in my feeble attempts to love Him, to serve Him and to serve others for His sake. In short, He is my ideal, my *Guru*, my Guide, my Friend, my Brother, my Saviour, my Lord, my All.

It may be added that Christianity does not, in my faith and practice, stand for Christ as divorced from the Church. Next to my Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, it is the Church that has been the source of strength in my spiritual life ; and Christ Himself would become less rich in meaning for me if He were severed from His Body, "the fulness of Him that filleth all in all." My Christian friends, my knowledge and love of the Bible, my love of prayer, worship, and the Sacraments, my sense of obligation towards others, Christian and non-Christian, my opportunities for serving the Master, my sense of fellowship with believers living and departed, my hope for the future of the world, — all these and a host of other blessings which I daily enjoy, come to me through the medium of the Church.

In conclusion, let me repeat with all the emphasis that I can command that life would not be worth living for me, unless I were a humble follower of Jesus of Nazareth, the Son of God.

Résumé Français.

L'auteur de cet article, membre de l'ancienne église Syrienne de St. Thomas à Malabar, nous a fait parvenir une éloquente profession de foi que nous résumerons comme suit :

India and the Federation

A. What the Federation hopes to receive from India.

By H.-L. HENRIOD.

Why should the Federation choose India of all countries for the next Meeting of its General Committee? The Indian Student Christian Movement is passing through a critical period. This occasion may distract it from its primary responsibilities without bringing to the representatives of other movements the inspiration they are expecting from this contact with their fellow students from India. Are not the unrest and the perplexing problems of India in politics likely to make difficult the atmosphere needed for the discussion of our particular problems? Will it not be a waste of time and money for the leaders and Delegates of our movements, who could have met more conveniently (say) in Europe or America, — the money thus saved being more wisely used in a number of fields where there is an urgent need of intensified work? The Federation is over-doing the so called world-wide contacts and multiplying of big conferences, while perseverance and spade work in local fields run the risk of being overlooked.

So have spoken, and so are probably enquiring in their own minds, some of those who have very much at heart the cause of the Federation. Yet if the General Committee at its last Meeting in Denmark unanimously decided to accept the preceding invitation of the Indian movement, and if the Executive Committee confirmed the decision a year ago in America, it was because in spite of important arguments against the Indian Federation Meeting, their Members are convinced of the importance and urgency of such an undertaking, partly in virtue of the very difficulties of the present situation, partly also because of the benefit which both the Indian movement and the Federation at large are hoping to receive from this momentous gathering. It is not for us to say here what the Indian Student Christian Movement is hoping to receive¹, from our General Committee Meeting, from the

¹ This aspect is dealt with in the next article by the pen of the Chairman of the Indian Student Movement.

contact of Delegates from all lands with the Indian men and women students who will attend the General Students' Conference in Madras, from the visit of some overseas speakers to the main student-centres of the Peninsula. But this I can say, writing from India, after four months spent in various parts of the country as well as in Ceylon and in Burma : everywhere among Christian students and professors, in church circles of all denominations and among Christian missionaries — many of whom have come from the ranks of the Student Movement — the visit of the Federation is arousing great sympathy and expectation. We are sure to meet with a very warm welcome. The interest in the Federation Meeting is by no means limited to Christians, who represent in India a very small minority indeed of the educated class. Amongst the Non-Christians in most of the Christian colleges, in Government Universities and Colleges, and even in district Hindu and Moslem institutions, the presentation of the Federation aims, of its international programme, and of its methods of service are received with no antipathy but rather with curiosity and even sympathy. Many Hindu, Moslem, and Buddhist students have expressed to me regret that they could not be invited to join the Federation deliberations. It is significant also that outstanding Hindu and Moslem personalities have agreed with eagerness to sit for a few days with our General Committee. — What is the Federation to gain from its Indian world gathering? What is to be the enrichment of its trusted Delegates from our student unions and associations from East and West and from the Southern Hemisphere, after a short visit to India?

The Attitude of Those Who Come.

Philosophical and religious systems to be seen at work ; architecture and poetry of exquisite quality, revivals in music and folklore ; social, economic, race, class and caste problems of all descriptions compose a unique wealth of material for the information and stimulus of the individual investigators who are to be labelled " Federation delegates " ! They will not return home empty. Yet they will miss the essential, if they do not come to India with an open heart and a sympathetic mind and so make it possible for the vital elements in human relationship to blossom, and render their intercourse with Indians of lasting value to both host and guests.

There is a certain type of visitor to Art-Galleries which

notices the picture frames, or counts the number of steps leading into the holy of holies ; these people know, when they come out, what the other visitors looked like, and *their* opinion on the works of art, but they themselves never penetrate to the emotion of the artist or the meaning of his picture. There are intellectuals who go to a discussion-group with the sole object of winning over others to their own views. They generally fail in their purpose and they certainly receive very little or nothing at all from others' thoughts and personalities. Such cannot and must not be the prejudiced attitude of any of the Federation delegates, if they themselves, their Movement at home and the cause at large are to benefit from the contact between the Federation and India in a new and better time.

An Intellectual and Spiritual Enrichment.

From their visit to India the delegates from overseas are certain to acquire a truer understanding of a great people, to help make a new step forward towards inter-racial understanding, to be richer spiritually, if they come in the right attitude of heart and mind. Their horizon is bound to be widened and their sympathy deepened when confronted with the sufferings and aspirations of India, the dark sides of Indian life and the remarkable efforts made to fight against them. They will realise in a more concrete and vivid way the full meaning of the resolution adopted at Peking concerning race-relationships, when they face some of the works of art of the past which have no parallel anywhere in the world and when they meet with such men as the Poet Tagore, Mahatma Gandhi or Professor Rhada Krishnan, not to mention some of the Christian leaders.

This affirmation is more than a vague and general statement, for these are some of the lessons which the present writer is actually learning and which he believes are to be experienced also by the Federation when its visit to India is over.

A Lesson in Values.

Many people are inclined to identify Western civilisation and industrialism with human progress. Europeans and Americans are led to believe by some of their philosophers and scientists, and most of all by their business autocrats, that they alone are qualified to direct the affairs of the world, and that other races and nations, if they are to be recognised at all, must follow suit,

or remain under the tutelage of the white races. Money and material power are assumed to be the paramount values in human life, yet in the West itself, pauperism, and the abnormal and inhuman conditions of life in the big cities and in the industrialised areas, show clearly enough the dark side of the picture. In India, the outstanding leaders of public opinion condemn the West as unfitted to lead the world, as having lost its soul with its lust for material comfort and power founded on force. They sincerely believe that more harm than good has come out of the domination of Europe in the East. In their longing for independence and self-government, the Nationalist leaders are refusing to recognise the positive achievements realised in India under British rule. Opinions expressed by the recent book of Mr. K. T. Paul "The British Connection with India" give on the other hand a true picture of the helpful side of the contact between East and West in India. Yet how can one justify the amazing poverty of the country, the millions of starving or underfed peasants, the demoralisation which has increased in the trail of modern industrialism together with the prevailing tendency amongst representatives of the West to come to India with the sole object of making money, with little or no regard for the uplifting of the people on whom they build their fortune? This is a cause of humiliation and sadness for the followers of Christ, since the West is identified with the Christian religion and since Western civilisation has first and foremost a materialistic and mechanistic tendency. A lesson of *modesty* and of searching of heart is imposed on us when entering into contact with the simplicity of life which is to be found in many "Ashrams" or religious communities in India, where the first place is given to meditation, true brotherhood and service to others, without committees, without resolutions, without capital and interest and the paraphernalia of modern life, — "frames" which have become a second nature with most of us. How much nearer Christ's life they are than most of our Western Churches and Christian organisations!

Tolerance and Brotherhood.

A lesson of *tolerance* and *broadmindedness* we are taught also by India. We pride ourselves in the Federation on having overcome to a large extent the spirit of narrow denominationalism, and on tending towards a reunion of the children of God into one family. This is still an ideal rather than a reality in many of

our movements. Ecclesiastical barriers, as well as national, racial and class exclusiveness have only been broken down in spots. We often pride ourselves on these, as if they were typical of our work at large; and even when our carefully-chosen delegates meet to discuss their common purpose we drift into stressing our different points of view with a tendency to exclusiveness and intolerance, which did much (for instance) at High Leigh, five years ago, to diminish the value of our General Meeting.

When we look at India from a distance, in terms of her social life, we think first of the evils of the caste system; then the communal disputes between Hindus and Moslems, the rivalry between Brahmins and non-Brahmins appeal to our imagination. The wide-spread circulation of a recent book on India by an American author has doubtless strengthened the impression of the prevailing cruelty and

A Courageous Attitude.

But how much do we know of the courageous attitude of the Reformers and of their influence, not to mention along that line the achievements of the Christian Missions in India? Do we realise that these latter are allowed to initiate new reforms, to abandon and to preach the abandonment of some of the most cherished traditions of the orthodox, without having to suffer any persecution or bitter opposition on the part of the latter? There are not many places in other lands where people belonging to a race — much disliked — and belonging to another religion, would be allowed to enter the places of worship and be courteously received by its priests, and visit some of the sacred shrines during the celebration of service, as we were in Kandy, amongst the many worshippers of Buddha in the Temple of the Tooth?

We had a similar experience in Hindu temples, where we were able to walk in the midst of the worshippers without being made uncomfortable, since they seemed indifferent to our presence, and continued their ceremonies undisturbed. At a Hindu and also at a Moslem University no objection was raised to a public address in which the work and ideal of the W. S. C. F. were stressed. The Maharaja of Mysore, a devout Hindu, has kindly agreed to welcome the Federation in the City of his residence and he is even offering generous hospitality to our Committee Meeting.

"Under Heaven One Family."

This spirit of tolerance, of respect for the opinions of others, was made very real to us at a recent retreat of the Council of the "International Fellowship." Hindu, Moslem, Parsi and Christian members of the Fellowship and a few visitors were the guests of Mahatma Gandhi at his "Ashram" of Sabarmati near Bombay. The religious objective of the Fellowship was the outstanding subject of our discussions. The same spirit prevailed there, with the same opportunity for stressing one's deepest convictions without restriction as prevails in the best of our inter-denominational groups in the West. Each day was opened with a devotional service, led in turn by a Parsi, a Christian and a Moslem; and the retreat ended with a devotional address by Mahatma Gandhi himself. We were all invited to join in the Convocation Ceremony of the National University, one of the strongholds of the Nationalist and Non-cooperation movement. The main address was delivered to the graduating students by Mr. C. F. Andrews, the most beloved and respected Christian and Englishman of India. Each day at the religious service of the "Ashram" held at sunset and attended by all the members of the brotherhood founded by Mr. Gandhi, we sat together on the ground under the fading light with the stars looking down on us from the darkening sky, a handful of Christians, a few Moslems and a large number of Hindus of all shades of thought. When, after the chanting of Hindu lyrics, Mahatma Gandhi asked his friend Andrews to begin the singing of the well known Christian hymn "Nearer my God to Thee," the motto of our Peking Conference struck me as specially fitting: "Under Heaven one family." India with all her caste barriers, India with her bloody riots between Hindus and Moslems, India with her growing hatred of the West and of what she understands to be Christian civilisation, India can yet teach us tolerance and brotherhood.

A Striking Experience.

The term "Religion" may cover the most degraded forms and practices as well as stand for the highest aspirations of the human soul. The two may sometimes be found side by side in India. The religion of self, of materialism, of power is to be found here as in any other part of the world. Yet religion in the sense of the life of the spirit, the longing for God, the reality

of a supreme power which transcends our human existence occupies in India a place we never found elsewhere so general and so outstanding in the thinking and action of a people. In a lecture on the Iranian philosophy and religion, a Parsi professor was emphasizing the other day the fact that in pre-Christian times, when Semitic and Indian races came into contact with one another, the former emphasized *brotherhood* in their religious beliefs, while the latter were turned mainly towards the culture of the inner life. This is still a characteristic of the India of to-day. The place given to God in the life of individuals and of society is one of the striking experiences of our stay in India. In one of the Colleges in Calcutta, we met a few weeks ago a group of students, most of them Hindus. In a natural way the conversation focussed on our idea of God. We never turned away from this subject until external circumstances forced us to disband. The contributions were beautiful and the interest

A Significant Movement.

It is not significant only that while there is to be the questioning of the old beliefs and beliefs, and the turning away from religion in the masses of the proletariat in large areas of the West and of the Far East, whilst in Africa the same tendency is to be found among the Bantu race, and Turkey and even Persia seem to be turning away from Islam, — yet within Hinduism, Islam, Buddhism and Zoroastrianism a spiritual revival is taking place in and around India? The place of God in man's daily life, and the setting aside of important periods for worship and meditation is a contribution that our Federation will welcome when we next meet in India.

Mr. Popley, one of the men who have studied for years and at close quarters the evolution of religious life in India, recently delivered a striking address before a missionary conference. After having sketched the various and recent movements in India he came to the definite conclusion that there is to-day a growing recognition of the Uniqueness of Christ. "This" — he says — "is becoming increasingly the most important factor of the religious situation, Christ is gradually coming to be recognized as 'the inescapable Christ'". — As one Hindu said to Dr. Stanley Jones, the author of "The Christ of the Indian Road", "India has long recognized Jesus as one of the world's greatest religious teachers and leaders, but during the last five years she

is beginning to see how unique He is... The time of preparation may be long and difficult, but suddenly out of the mist will stand that great supreme figure, and India will bow in worship and wonder."

Here we come to the centre, and here most of all Christian experience in any part of the world will arrive at a lasting communion and come into a true understanding of the brotherhood of Mankind, of the Fatherhood of God supremely revealed in the one Saviour and Master. This is the essential point of contact and of mutual enrichment to be expected between the Federation and India.

India and the Federation

3. What India hopes to receive from the Federation.

By A.M.K. Cumaraswamy

When the Federation was born in 1895 in Vadstena Castle, it received its present catholic title, though the major portion of the world was not yet within the Federation. But the leaders were men of vision and they sought and desired the contribution of every nation on the face of the earth. Circumstances have not always been favourable, but the ideal has ever been maintained. Every World Conference or Committee saw the East more articulate than its predecessor did; and it was freely stated that "Peking" in 1922 did fully justify the title of "*The World Student Christian Federation*". China and India, Japan and the Philippines made effective contributions; and Dr. King represented with ability the great Negro race. The delegates from India watched with interest the mutual contribution which China and the Federation made to the life of each other. That India should at an early date be the venue for a meeting of the Federation was even then the enthusiastic desire, not only of the Indian delegates, but of many of the veterans of the older National Movements. This resulted in the invitation from the Student Christian Association of India, Burma and Ceylon, presented to the Federation in High Leigh, 1924. An eleventh-hour discovery was made that the Student Department of the Y.W.C.A. in India had not officially and formally participated in the invitation, and the men's delegate was compelled to plead that in India at that time men needed the women generally submitted to! The women representatives from India were generous enough to offer to consider this philosophy; but it was found necessary to defer the India meeting and the Indian delegation at Nyborg, 1926, until the next year. On December 1928 will, we trust, see the fruition of our hopes, and it may be of help to consider a few aspects of the mutual impact which India and the Federation are destined to make on each other.

From China to India — An Opportunity

In China the meeting faced with courage the International aspect of the Federation and the thorny subjects of inter-racial difficulties and of war. Whatever the result may have been or with what measure of success the different National Movements have tried to realise the implications of the Peking resolutions, we may not yet gauge. Nor should we omit to remember that in matters of this nature, success is more accurately measured by standards of endeavour than of achievement. Everything tends to strengthen the belief that "Peking" gave a new orientation to the thought of many National Movements in reference to these important problems.

The India meeting has an even bigger subject to tackle, but some aspects of the above themes may not be evaded, and a further step forward may be opportune. There is no suggestion that any local or national politics should be discussed. That would be neither feasible nor relevant. Nevertheless, when we meet together, as we believe we do, seeking the guidance of the Spirit to understand the Mind of the Master and the Will of God for us individually and for the Federation, we may not circumscribe either the extent or the direction of the spheres which He may lead us to explore. This is a time of crisis in Indian history, and dark clouds are hanging over the political horizon. India feels the humiliation of being in bondage to another nation, and may be oversensitive to the shame of not being mistress in her own house. This may colour our thoughts, especially at a time when friendly students and leaders from other countries will be our guests in India. As Indians we are convinced that we are struggling for the assertion of our elementary rights to be free, but even the best of our British friends often find it difficult to understand us. They plead that the situation is too complex for the exercise of elementary rights. The tragedy is that even some Americans, forgetful of their past history, take a like view. It is not possible in current political issues that all of us should think alike. But we can all think fair. A modern "sympathetic" British missionary said at a meeting recently that as messengers of the Gospel they should take no sides in the political struggle. "Yes," India would reply, "but do not you take the other side either!" We see more and more that on political questions in India, opinion tends to divide on a racial basis. Minds are widely divergent even where the hearts are in unison. Under such circumstances we may be tempted to be

circumspect, or to try to control the activities of the free Spirit of Truth. There will be risks : but risks are opportunities as well, and Faith can change stumbling-blocks into stepping-stones. Should we be led a step further on the International issue, let us go forward with courage, being willing at the same time to exercise patience, where such is the guidance.

The Great Question.

The great question however at the India meeting will be the relation of Christianity to the other religions of the world, and in particular to Hinduism, Islam and Buddhism, two of which are native to India, while the third can not only claim to have become indigenous, but has absorbed from India's religious heritage and is able to present in Sufism a mystic side of Islam which is devoid of any alien garb. When the first Christian Council met at Jerusalem, the conflict was really between "Christianity" as it emerged from Judaism on the one hand, and on the other the religious heritage of the Gentiles. It is also not easy to say in every point which absorbed the other. All we are certain about (and in consequence, all we need to be certain about in any future or present conflict) is that the emergent system continued to have Jesus Christ in its very centre. In the conflict of religions in the Roman Empire, another "religion" emerged triumphant, with our Lord still in the centre ; but the new system had received enrichment from Greek Philosophy, and from the Pagan religions. It is interesting to note here the line of defence which such an orthodox scholar as Bishop Gore of England adopts against those who attack the "mystery" side of the Eucharist as a relic from Pagan religions of a lower order of civilisation. The Bishop "concedes," pleading that by "conceding" may be understood what is cordially and whole-heartedly given, — he concedes that such may be the immediate ancestry of the doctrine, but claims that this will not make it any the less Divine in origin.

The conflict of religions in India is now taking place, and the issue will surely be to the glory of God, and to the good of His Church. Prophets like Bishop Westcott of Durham foresaw it, but they were in advance of their age. The Federation and Student Christian Movements throughout the world have allowed themselves to be used of God in preparing the field. Denominational barriers have either been broken down or been undermined. Their historical associations are happily meaning-

less in India, and this situation has reacted on the older Christian countries. It is not an exaggeration to say that many of us who are true to our denominational loyalties will gladly see our own communions sink in the pool of conflict so that the new thing that emerges may be the richer for our contribution. Except a corn of wheat die, it abideth alone.

" Our little systems have their day,
They have their day and cease to be ;
They are but broken lights of Thee,
And Thou, O Lord, art more than they. "

Up to this point, our courage does not falter, and we are able to go forward. But it would be an illogical position to stop here. The India meeting will face the larger issue and the wider conflict. If we evade this, we might reasonably be accused of want of faith in the Divine origin of the Christian Revelation. But our leaders have planned a courageous programme, and their faith is therefore vindicated. Our Lord is coming to His own in India, but we must be prepared to see something emerge from the conflict, which may not be Lutheranism or Anglicanism, or even perhaps " Christianity " exactly as we have known it in our own respective spheres. All we can certainly prophesy is that our Divine Lord will still be the centre of the picture, and that the new Church or the new " religion " will be more true and more Catholic than any before, inasmuch as it will have been enriched by India's noble contribution. For,

" China and Ind, Hellas or France,
Each hath its own inheritance ;
And each to Truth's rich market brings
Its bright, Divine imaginings,
In rival tribute to surprise
The World with native merchandise. "

The Need For Courage and Faith.

To face such an issue in a spirit of such daring and to face it in India, a land which (some urge) has the gigantic capacity to absorb and to mortify every new religion that attempts to master her, may to honest people appear too close to the danger-line. But such fears are groundless, and will not survive the test of history. Absorb India might in a sense, but to mortify will be impossible. The gates of Hell cannot prevail against that which is True, against that which is Divine. These fears have been expressed whenever any departure even in non-essentials was contem-

plated by progressive thought; and in every case the mutual interaction has resulted in the emergence of a fuller measure of truth. Even in our life-time, we have seen theological expressions change and develop. Jesus Christ is the same yesterday, to-day and for ever; but that which has been preached in His name has not always been the same. Cherished theories have been abandoned and the Spirit of Jesus leads us into Truth. The subtle theory of the "development of doctrine," on the basis of tracing everything to a germ in the original deposit, is hard to reconcile with a reverent but scientific search for truth. The Revelation of God in Christ is infinitely richer than a *Statement* of the nature of God and of the eternal verities. God became man that men might become the sons of God, and our Lord's incarnation is continued in the lives of men and women who receive His Divine impact. When St. Paul speaks of "filling up on his part that which is lacking of the afflictions of Christ," he seems to emphasise even in stronger terms man's co-operation in the work of redemption. May we not therefore face the great question of the relation of Christianity to the religious heritage of India, not only with faith, but with the courage that will follow where the Spirit leads?

The Student Movement in India.

For a step forward in this direction, India is the natural venue; even if it were felt that with reference to the first issue raised, the present moment was not auspicious for a further consideration of these two themes, India is still a factor that must gravely count in any issue. The Federation has always been generous in its recognition of this fact, and has often helped India to express herself at Federation world gatherings. The success or failure of the Indian Student Movement will have a corresponding effect on the strength and inspiration of the World Student Christian Federation. We therefore regard the visit of the Federation to India this year not only as an opportunity for the Federation to appropriate of the heritage of India, but in special measure as an opportunity for the Indian Movement to receive strength and momentum from our guests who come from abroad. Our weakness in India is partly due to the fact that the S.C.A. partakes of the nature of an exotic plant, not yet fully acclimatised, and it may therefore be thought that lessons from foreign Movements are not the exact need of the hour. But the Federation is manifold in its character, and our guests will come not only

from Britain and America, but from Europe and China, from Africa and Japan. A closer understanding and co-operation between students of the various countries of the Orient was one of the resolves at Peking. Conditions in China have militated against the early realisation of this desire. Even if the Pan-Pacific Conference needs a fresh postponement, the India meeting should be availed of, for an endeavour in this direction. By pure accident I happen to be writing this article at Dr. Rabin-dranath Tagore's International University at Santiniketan; and it is difficult not to emphasise again that intellectual co-operation between students of differing cultural inheritances is not only an important solvent for our manifold inter-racial and inter-religious problems, and a necessary instrument in this age for the breaking down of the middle wall of partition, and the "narrow domestic wall" (to use our Poet's phrase), but is also an urgent step towards the realisation of the fuller Truth, the understanding of the Mind of the Master, and the discovery of God's will for us and for our generation.

Deutsche Zusammenfassung.

Als der Weltbund 1895 in Schloss Vadstena gegründet wurde, gab man ihm den Titel einer Weltorganisation, da man mit dem Namen seine Grundidee ausdrücken wollte. Im Fortlauf der Jahre kam man der Verwirklichung dieser Idee immer näher und mit der „Peking-Konferenz“ 1922 hat der Weltbund seinen Namen „Christlicher Studenten-Weltbund“ gerechtfertigt, denn alle Rassen und Nationen waren dort vertreten. Anlässlich dieser Konferenz entstand unter den indischen Abgesandten der Wunsch, Indien selber zum Schauplatz einer solchen Weltkonferenz zu machen. Und so kam es, dass die indischen Vertreter in High Leigh 1924 den Weltbund zu einer Konferenz nach Indien baten. Diese Einladung konnte aus verschiedenen äusseren Gründen noch nicht angenommen werden und erst in Nyborg 1926 wurde der definitive Beschluss gefasst, die nächste Konferenz in Indien abzuhalten. Dies wird im Dezember 1928 sein! Wir alle sehen mit Hoffnungen und grossen Erwartungen diesem Ereignis entgegen.

Die brennendsten Fragen der China-Konferenz drehten sich um die internationale Bedeutung des Weltbundes und um die noch viel schwierigeren Probleme der Rasse und des Krieges. Wir glauben behaupten zu können, dass manchen nationalen Bewegungen durch die Konferenz eine neue Einstellung zu diesen Fragen geworden ist. Die Indien-Konferenz soll sich mit noch grösseren Problemen befassen, aber sicher wird auch das eine oder andere Thema der Peking-Konferenz wieder aufgegriffen werden. Ohne Frage soll keine örtliche oder nationale Politik behandelt werden. Doch wenn diese Fragen im Lauf der Diskussionen auftauchen werden, hoffen wir, dass sie uns einen Schritt weiter auf dem Gebiet des Internationalismus führen werden. Lasst uns dann mit Mut vorangehen, aber auch nicht vergessen, Geduld zu üben.

Die grosse Frage bei der indischen Zusammenkunft wird die sein, welche Verbindungen das Christentum zu den anderen Religionen der Welt und im besonderen zum Hinduismus, Islam und Buddhismus hat. Bei der ersten christlichen Konferenz in Jerusalem entstanden widerstreitende Meinungen über das „Juden-Christentum“ einerseits und das „Heiden-Christentum“ andererseits. Man kann nicht klar erkennen, welches von den beiden das andere absorbiert hat, sicher aber haben die Religionen der Römer und besonders die Palästinäer der Griechen die erste christliche Religion beeinflusst und beeinflusst und manche noch heute lebendigen Formen können vielleicht nur zu ihrem Ursprung innerhalb dieser beiden Kulturen verfolgt werden. Was demnach sei, die Hauptsache für uns ist, welches System auch immer die Oberhand haben mag, dass Jesus Christus der Mittelpunkt ist.

Religionskonflikte sind gerade jetzt in Indien akut und ihr Ende wird sicher zur Herrlichkeit Gottes und zum Wohl seiner Kirche auslaufen. Durch den Weltbund und die christlichen Studentenbewegungen ist das Feld vorbereitet. Konfessionelle Hindernisse sind entweder heruntergerissen oder umgewandelt worden. Es ist keine Lehrensbildung, wenn wir behaupten, dass manche von uns, die einen eigenen Bekenntnis treu sind, sich doch freuen, dass andere Gemeinden in den Konflikt hineingetrieben wurden. Sie hoffen, dass das Neue, das daraus hervorgehen mag, durch unseren Beitrag reicher werde. „Es sei denn, dass ein Weizenkorn sterbe, auf dass es Frucht bringe!“ Wir hoffen, dass aus diesem Konflikt etwas hervorgehen möge, dass weder lutherisch, noch anglikanisch, noch vielleicht „christlich“ in dem Sinn ist, wie wir es bisher bekannt haben. Die Hauptsache ist, dass unser Herr, der Mitleid hat, und dass die neue Religion in dem Mass wahrer und gläubiger Anhänger und Anhänger zu Boden kommt, bezugslos hat.

Einer solchen Entwicklung entgegen zu sehen, noch dazu in einem Land wie Indien, das jede neue Religion bisher absorbiert oder getötet hat, scheint für manche zu nahe an der Gefahrszone zu liegen. Aber diese Furcht ist grundlos. Immer, wenn ein Fortschritt angebahnt wurde, selbst bei unwesentlichen Dingen, hat man Furcht gezeigt und doch ist das Bedenken meistens ein Niederwürgen der Wahrheit gewesen. Je ein Christen ist darauf geachtet, heute und in Zukunft, dies was in seinem Namen geleistet worden ist, ist man immer das Gute gelehrt.

Die Offenbarung Gottes in Christus ist mehr als eine blosse Feststellung der Natur Gottes und der ewigen Wahrheiten. Gott wurde Mensch, damit die Menschen Gottes Kinder würden und die Menschwerdung Gottes ist noch heute wahr in dem Leben von Männern und Frauen, die seinen göttlichen Geist empfangen. Dürfen wir darum nicht getrost der schwierigen Frage der Verbindung des Christentums mit dem religiösen Erbe Indiens entgegentreten, nicht nur voll Glaube sondern auch voll Mut, bereit ihm dorthin zu folgen, wohin sein Geist führt.

Der Erfolg oder Fehlschlag der indischen christlichen Studentenbewegung wird seine Wirkung auf den Weltbund ausüben. Wir glauben deshalb, dass durch den Besuch des Weltbundes nicht nur diesem Bereicherung durch das geistige Erbe Indiens gegeben werden kann, sondern dass andererseits Indien aus dieser Konferenz und durch seine Gäste neue Kräfte wachsen können. Ein grösseres gegenseitiges Verstehen und eine regere Zusammenarbeit zwischen den Studenten der verschiedenen Länder des Orients war eine der Hoffnungen, die Peking gab. Die Verhältnisse

in China haben jedoch eine baldige Verwirklichung dieser Wünsche in die Ferne gerückt. Wir hoffen aber, selbst wenn die Konferenz der Länder um den Stillen Ozean noch einmal aufgeschoben werden müßte, dass durch die Indien-Konferenz ein Schritt vorwärts zur Erfüllung dieser Hoffnungen getan werde. Ich schreibe diesen Artikel zufällig in der Internationalen Universität von Dr. Rabindranath Tagore in Santiniketan. In einem solchen Milieu ist es schwer, nicht Nachdruck darauf zu legen, dass interkulturelle Zusammenarbeit der Studenten der verschiedensten Kulturen nicht nur notwendig ist, um die interkonfessionellen und Rasseprobleme zu lösen, sondern ganz besonders um einen Schritt näher der Verwirklichung der tieferen Wahrheit, dem Verständnis Gottes sowie seiner höheren Absichten mit uns und unserer Generation zu kommen.

Book Reviews

"THE BRITISH CONNECTION WITH INDIA", by K. T. Paul.
With a Foreword by the Earl of Ronaldshay. S. C. M. 5/-1.

Already this book has attracted widespread attention, and we recommend it strongly to the readers of the "Student World" and to all those for whom Indian problems have taken on a new interest on account of the forthcoming visit of the Federation Committee. Nowhere in our knowledge is so much information about modern India to be found combined with so much wisdom. The book is really indispensable to those who want to know how the currents of life in the India of to-day appear to an instructed Christian Indian mind. Not that all Indian Christians would agree in all Mr Paul's positions; nevertheless, we shall not be far wrong in following him.

The real value, as well as the charm, of the book lies in its intensely personal character. The title is in a sense misleading. Much more is given than a treatment merely of the British connection with India. The book really is the account of how the development of that indefinable yet perfectly recognisable thing called Modern India presented and presents itself (for the process is still going on) to the mind of one who as child and youth and man has been singularly awake to it all. It is, we repeat, a remarkably personal book. We are helped both by narration and by scores of little verbal touches to see the interplay of forces that is making the new India as it developed in the experience of this man in his village, at the college in the city, as he travelled about India for the National Missionary Society, and as in his later responsibilities for the Y.M.C.A. he has enjoyed personal knowledge of many of those who most profoundly affect the course of events. This makes for the rarest kind of treatment. So much of the writing about Indian nationalism has become the victim of phrases and catchwords that the reader need not be cynical or unsympathetic to feel that the whole business is a little unreal. Here, on the other hand, we have reality, and whether we like or dislike the judgments expressed and even though some great topics are very sketchily

treated, we are made to feel all the time that the whole varied record is the work of a single unifying experience.

The book begins with a short chapter outlining the scope and variety of the connection between Britain and India, and making very generous acknowledgment of the service rendered, in such matters as defence and the settlement of land tenure, by Britain to India. Then we pass through, in a series of chapters, the different phases or moments of the National Movement. On the whole, this is the best part of the book, and the exhibition of the Religious, the Social, the Linguistic, the Artistic and the Economic sides of the national awakening is admirably done, with the charm of personal recollection. There is, next, a sketch of the origins of the Political movement and its development up to the outbreak of the War. India's attitude towards and co-operation in the War is fully and (we think) somewhat idealistically given, but the author does not err in linking with it the expectations of greatly enhanced national independence. The Montagu movement is dealt with very ably — British readers to whom Montagu was a not very attractive political figure often fail to realise how deeply he touched the heart of politically-minded India — and then we come to Mr Gandhi. About him all that we need say here is that no one has begun at all to grasp the realities of modern India who has not seen that Gandhi marks an era. Pre- and post - Gandhi may be said just as truly, indeed in much the same sort of way, as "pre- and post-War". In each case a great and subtle psychological change has come about. What Gandhi means, *inter alia*, is a man who was so free alike from fear and from pride that he has permanently made impossible for myriads of his fellow-countrymen the "slave mentality" he deplored. Because of Gandhi, and what he was and did, they can stand on their feet and look other men and nations in the eyes. This is the sort of thing that is felt; one may put it in another way by saying that Indians are entitled to draw all the inferences they like from the fact that Gandhi is perhaps the most widely studied and regarded human being alive to-day. Mr Paul makes an important point which may be given here. He reminds us that India is getting her own international status; that men like Gandhi and Tagore and Bose the scientist are known all over the world, and that to people who think of India in these terms India is not merely a "distant dependency of the British Empire". This comes with force from one so very friendly to Britain as Mr Paul.

There is an interesting chapter on Indian emigration overseas,

in which we are reminded of the very ancient history of the Indian wanderer, especially perhaps the Tamil. "Today" and "To-morrow" are the last two chapters. In some ways they are the least satisfying, for they do not take us very far on those burning questions to which serious men want answers. Yet they indicate the lines along which solutions might be possible, and there are pregnant suggestions, as for instance where the League of Nations provision for dealing with minorities is cited in connection with the vexed problem of the Indian minorities. More will be heard of the League in Asiatic politics, — that, at least, we may safely venture.

Mr Paul has spent his time in trying to answer the question ; What does India want ? But he ends with another question : What does Britain want ? For he sees that there are elements in British life (as in that of any other great trading and imperial nation) which will never accept the kind of attitude towards India which alone is compatible with the self-respect of India. But he himself fundamentally believes that what India must have is in line with what Britain ought to want, and it is plain that to him the connection means much and has within it the potentiality of even better and greater things.

WILLIAM PATON.

THE HEART OF ARYAVARTA, *by Lord Ronaldshay. Constable, 14/-.*

This is a book of very unusual interest, coming as it does from the pen of a British nobleman who presumably belongs to the Conservative Party in British politics. Two things pre-eminently strike the reader. The first is that the author is a whole-hearted lover of culture, and the second is that he has a receptive mind and the sincerity of a real student. The task therefore which he has set himself in the book, viz : "to interpret the spirit of modern India" — difficult as it undoubtedly is — has been creditably accomplished by him so far as it could be done by one who not only belongs to the British ruling class, but himself was a ruler of an advanced Indian province.

Lord Ronaldshay goes to the fundamentals of the problem in trying to understand the mind of a modern young educated Hindu. Quite appropriately he condemns the present educational system in India, which is really unique in its grotesque and unnatural character. "An example at once occurs to one. The

intellectual life of India has always been remarkable for the high place which it has accorded to philosophy ; yet under the existing system, the Indian student who takes philosophy as a subject for his Bachelor Degree leaves the University without so much as hearing any mention of the six systems which have sprung up from Indian soil, or of Badarayana, the compiler of the Vedanta sutras or of giants among the commentators such as Sankara or Ramanuja " (p. 14). Nor is that all : the medium of instruction in the secondary schools and colleges is English ! The consequence is that " the whole system of education is completely divorced from Indian culture and tradition " (p. 13). The excessive use of English was the result of a combination of various causes ; and if the vernaculars of India are really to be encouraged and an impetus to be given to the growth of distinct individuality of Indians, a re-grouping of provinces on a linguistic basis is quite essential. This point does not seem to have struck Lord Ronaldshay, perhaps, because of the fact that he gathers his material for the book entirely from life and events in Bengal. The need of the above reform is pressingly felt in Bombay, where all four vernaculars, Marathi, Gujerathi, Kanerese and Sindhi have a joint sway !

The author next turns to the culture of the Hindu. He traces the development of their revivalist tendencies and assures them that " Englishmen view with sympathy India's attempt to strike root once more in her own intellectual soil. " " Such sympathy would have been deeper and wider spread, " writes the author, " had it not been for the fact that in the sphere of politics, the resurgent spirit of India has at times been perverted along channels which have led to rebellious movements against the existing order. " Certainly Lord Ronaldshay cannot expect the existing order to remain untouched by the Hindu resurgent spirit ; and as regards its " perversion, " the votaries of the existing order are more to blame than the opposing ranks of puritans. If there were plenty of Englishmen of the Ronaldshay type, who have an understanding of the back-ground of the Hindu mind, the trouble would have been very likely smoothed over ; for sincere sympathy always begets response. But the tragedy lies in the absence of such spirit-seekers.

The philosophical portion of Lord Ronaldshay's book is of absorbing interest and on the whole gives a fair perspective of Hindu thought. Some minor omissions however must be noted. " In India there has never been any clearly marked boundary separating philosophy from religion. Both draw their inspiration

from the same source and that source is revelation and not reason." The first half of this observation is characteristically true of India ; but when Lord Ronaldshay says that revelation and not reason is the basis of Indian philosophy, he, though literally correct, is likely to mislead his readers. For he has overlooked an important passage from the Upanishads, which helps us to ascertain what the seers of the Upanishads thought about the problem of revelation. A passage in the *Brihadaranyaka* says " Rigveda, the Yajurveda, the Samveda, and the Athrva-Angiras have all of them been breathed forth by that Primeval Being ; likewise also, have all history, all mythology, all sciences, all Upanishads, all poems, all aphorisms and all the commentaries thereupon, been breathed forth by that great Divinity ". The meaning of this passage is that all great literature may be regarded as having been the product of the Divine inspirational activity — in the minds of those who composed it. When this much is said, the apparent conflict between revelation and reason is to a great extent diminished. The author seems to be under confusion over the meaning of the word *Brahmacharya*, which generally connotes the first of the four stages of a Hindu's life. Philosophy and religion have always gone hand in hand in India ; but at the present time, there prevail religious superstition and a philosophy of false values. Religion is to-day unhappily divorced from true Vedanta philosophy which has been also largely misunderstood. Brave attempts to get at the true philosophy of the Hindus, amidst the prevailing chaos of superstitions, have to be made and the lead is already given by Tilak's commentary on the Bhagwadgita, to which Lord Ronaldshay refers. The future of Hindu society, which is already in the making, is indeed a very interesting subject for speculation, for in the fight for Hindu revival, account has to be taken of certain foreign influences which perhaps have now come to stay in India, and which will in all probability be absorbed by the Hindus, whose genius in this direction is amply proved by the history of Indian civilisation.

M.S. MODAK.

AN INDIAN APPROACH TO INDIA. *Chapters by a group of Nationals interpreting the Christian Movement, assembled and edited by Milton Stauffer. Published for the Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions by the Missionary Education Movement, New York. 75 c. or 3/-.*

This book is one of a series bearing the general title "Christian Voices Around the World". The Student Volunteer Movement of North America, in preparation for its Quadrennial Conference recently concluded at Detroit, produced this series with the object of securing and laying before its membership reliable statements about the work and prospects of the Christian Movement in Asia and Africa. There are companion volumes dealing with the Near East, China, Japan, Africa and Latin America. The contributors to the present volume are all Indians, all Christians, and represent among themselves Western, Northern and Southern Indian and Ceylon, as well as some half dozen of the leading branches of the Christian Church in India. We very heartily recommend the book for careful study. Every book of this kind contains a certain amount of repetition, and the subjects given to the several writers are in certain cases so closely akin that a measure of repetition was quite inevitable. The experience of the writers varies, and one or two of them are responsible for an occasional over-emphasis on matters of local import which their more experienced colleagues escape. These however are very small blemishes, and nowhere does there exist a single volume conveying so well what may be called the Indian Christian point of view on Christian work in India.

The first paper is by Mr. Manilal C. Parekh, the joint author with Mr. Gray of a biography of Gandhi. Mr. Parekh deals with "Our Cultural Heritage." All Mr. Parekh's writing is marked by a clearly defined experience and attitude. He comes himself from the Jain religion *via* the Brahmo-Somaj and in this essay he gives a large amount of space to the Jain and Buddhist contribution to Indian culture. He completely omits from reckoning the Moslem contribution, and it is a serious blemish in the point of view of the school which he represents that they think exclusively of Hindu India. Mr. Parekh makes a great deal of the Vedic religion, and one would hardly gather from his essay that temple worship, which is non-Vedic, is virtually universal among Hindus. Mr. Parekh's article, nevertheless, in spite of its want of balance, succeeds in conveying very clearly an impression of the spirit and ethos of the older Indian civilisation.

Dr. J.J. Cornelius, formerly of Lucknow University, now resident in America, deals with "Nationalism in India's Life". This is the most political of the essays, and in view of the bitterness and occasional unfairness of the writing, readers would be well advised to turn for evidence on this subject to Mr. K.T. Paul's

"The British Connection with India," where they will find the political problems of modern India treated with more knowledge and much deeper insight than Dr. Cornelius shows. This is the only essay in the book which suggests propaganda rather than serious study. For instance, the veiled suggestion that the British Government foments Hindu-Moslem disunion should not have been made in a book of this kind.

Mr. Chenchiah on "Indian Religions" has provided a really first-class paper, and one which deserves to be widely read. He has both wide knowledge and a genuinely philosophic intelligence. The result is that he has been able to show the inter-relation of Hinduism and Islam, and Hinduism and Christianity in the evolution of the Indian religious consciousness, and throughout the whole of his essay has an abundance of pregnant and often brilliant remarks on different aspects of Indian religious life. The book is well worth publishing if only for this admirable contribution.

Hardly less excellent is Mr. C.E. Abraham's paper on the "Contribution of the Western Church", which is well informed, fair in judgment and thoroughly Christian in temper.

Mr. Thakar Dass on "The Status of Christianity in India" hardly shows the insight which the subject demands, and we notice in his essay, as in one or two others, a somewhat grudging attitude towards the so-called "mass movements" on the ground that they lower the standard of the Indian Church as a whole. This is a natural attitude, but it cannot be said to rise to the height of the national need.

Mr. K.T. Paul's paper on "Christianity and Nationhood" has all the admirable qualities which readers would expect from it. Along with Mr. Chenchiah's it is the most likely of the whole series to be remembered. Mr. Paul reminds his readers that the foreign element in Indian Christianity is not only, nor indeed mainly, British, and he is able to rise above the limitations which prevent men from seeing the great potential enrichment which its international connections bring to Indian Christianity. On another point Mr. Paul is most excellent, namely, "mass movements". It is somewhat of a defect in this book that most of the writers seem to have little knowledge or appreciation of the remarkable Christward movement among the outcastes. Mr. Paul is not blind to the dangers of this movement, and the defects in some of its developments, but he is at the same time full appreciation, not only of its social, but also of its religious value. This section of his essay is not the least valuable.

The next two essays, by Mr. Kuruvilla on "Problems of the Indian Church," and by, Mr. P.O. Philip on "Co-operation from the West", are thoroughly well informed and competent accounts, first of the main elements in the life and the problems to be faced by the Indian Church, and secondly of the nature of the co-operation on the part of the Western Christians which the Indian Church desires. Many will look to this latter essay for guidance on a matter of crucial importance, and they will find in Mr. Philip a sober and well-informed guide.

The final paper by Mr. Kumaraswamy is entitled "Youth's Challenge to Youth", and is an admirable piece of work. The writer speaks as chairman of the Indian Student Christian Movement, and his essay is really a summing up of the book, and a positive statement of the challenge of young Christian India to young Christian Europe and America.

We repeat, this book deserves to be widely read. It will not be easy to find anywhere else so interesting and valuable a series of statements by Indian Christian minds on the Indian heritage and on the work of Christianity in India to-day.

WILLIAM PATON.

MOTHER INDIA, by Katherine Mayo : London, Jonathan Cape, 30 Bedford Square, pp. 391. Price 7/6d.

FATHER INDIA A reply to "Mother India", by C. S. Ranga Iyer, London, Selwyn and Blount Ltd., 6 Duke Street, Adelphi, W. C. 2. pp. 207. Price 6/-

MISS MAYO'S "MOTHER INDIA": A REJOINDER, by K. Natarajan, Madras, G. A. Natesan & Co. pp. 109. Price 12 annas.

Miss Mayo in her book sarcastically called "Mother India" frames a terrible indictment of the whole social fabric of India generally and of Hinduism in particular. The book is in fact a fearless attempt at exposing and holding up to ridicule the darker side of Indian life. To name it "Mother India" and to assert with subtle ingenuity both directly and by implication that the evils depicted in it are characteristic of the whole country is an ungenerous (almost unscrupulous) misrepresentation of facts. To that extent "Mother India" must be regarded as untruthful, as it gives to a part of the picture the appearance of

the whole. It is, however, idle to deny that "Mother India" rests upon a solid foundation of fact (startling even to many Indians themselves) so far as its denunciation of social evils in India is concerned. I venture to think that the publication of the book has come as a blessing in disguise as it is sure ultimately to lead to an accelerated pace of social reform in India. I do not share the view which has so freely been expressed that the writing of the book was engineered by interested parties in England to discredit India with a view to finding a pretext for withholding self-government from her.

Miss Mayo's main thesis amounts to an assertion that sexual exhaustion is the principal cause of Indian degeneracy. To quote her own words (p. 29): "The whole pyramid of the Indian's woes, material and spiritual — poverty, sickness, ignorance, political minority, melancholy, ineffectiveness, not forgetting that subconscious conviction of inferiority that he forever bares and advertises by his gnawing and imaginative alertness for social affronts — rests upon a rock bottom physical base. This base is simply his manner of getting into the world and his sex life thence-forward." Paraphrased, the author's contention is that the institution of child marriages which unfortunately even to-day is so marked a feature of Hindu society in most parts of India, leads to the utter degradation of the women, and to sexual indulgence on the part of the men. Such a thesis is very difficult indeed, if not impossible to substantiate by figures, but neither is it possible to get over the ugly facts of the situation by simply denying their existence. The danger does exist, and Miss Mayo shows up in the most striking way what a ghastly thing the institution of child marriages is and how real is the danger of its abuse in a vast backward country like India, in spite of the existence of certain safeguards imposed by custom which operate to postpone co-habitation in many cases.

Among the other more important subjects dealt with in the book, attention should be drawn to Miss Mayo's discussion of the twin problems of sanitation and disease in India. Owing largely to the poverty of the masses of the people and their illiteracy, progress in sanitary reform, though substantial, has been lamentably slow, with the result that India has become an immense reservoir of disease constituting, in Miss Mayo's language, a "menace" to the rest of the world. The author also examines the whole position of the fifty millions odd (a sixth of the total population) depressed classes — "the untouchables" — a section of the community until recently completely disowned

by Hinduism. Miss Mayo pays a fine and richly deserved tribute to the work of the foreign missionary societies which have been endeavouring for over a century to secure their uplift through education and other means. Apart from humanitarian considerations, the economic importance of the depressed classes to the country can be realised only when it is known that they are in fact the agricultural labourers of the country. But of them may it be truly said even to-day that they are not too low to grow the corn, but too low only to eat the bread. Miss Mayo's account of the Prince of Wales meeting them seems fictitious, but her discussion of the big question of the place assigned to the depressed classes in the Indian social system is undoubtedly accurate in substance.

The other matters touched upon in "Mother India" include a brilliant discussion of the economic and humanitarian aspects of the tremendous problem created by the preservation in India owing to religious and sentimental considerations of millions of unfit surplus cattle. Miss Mayo rightly observes that there is far less innate humanity to dumb creation in "spiritualistic" India than there is in the "materialistic" meat-eating West. Incidentally, such evils as the "purdha" system (under which over forty million women in India pass their life in more or less strict seclusion), the low percentage of literacy in the country due in part at least to the lack of women teachers, and the custom of dedicating minor girls as temple dancers which prevails in some parts of India, are the subject of penetrating though contemptuous criticism. The book also contains an elementary account of the mechanism of government in India for the benefit of Miss Mayo's countrymen whose knowledge of India, the good lady informs us, is limited to the fact that "Mr Gandhi lives there; also tigers."

Certain criticisms of "Mother India," in addition to the obvious one of one-sidedness which has already been noticed, deserve consideration. It has been urged, and rightly, that Miss Mayo omits to give credit to the efforts that are already being made for remedying the evils mentioned by her. I do not think, however, that this is a very serious criticism, as no patriotic Indian could honestly say that indigenous effort in the direction of reform is at all adequate to the magnitude of the problem. A second and far more important criticism is that the author has completely failed to assess the significance of the policy of "neutrality" in socio-religious matters followed by the Government in British India as a partial explanation of the

relatively backward state of social legislation in the country. Whatever may have been the justification of this policy of non-intervention in the sixties of last century when the British Crown assumed direct responsibility for the governance of India, such a policy has absolutely no justification under modern conditions and should have been abandoned at least twenty years ago. No Government as the custodian of the national welfare can maintain an attitude of *non possumus* to questions of social reform without abdicating essential functions. The Pax Britannica has undoubtedly been a blessing, but "Mother India" shows that in the matter of social reform it has not been an unmixer; in this respect at least Miss Mayo has strengthened the hands of the Indian nationalist in his demand for Swaraj.

Two formal "replies" have been written to "Mother India." Mr. Ranga Iyer has succeeded in showing that up to a point it is possible, if attention be exclusively concentrated on hospital cases and the proceedings of criminal courts, to paint a fairly lurid picture of Mother America, while Mr. Natarajan has corrected Miss Mayo on one or two important points and a large number of minor ones. The latter, for example, demonstrates conclusively that Miss Mayo has done very much less than justice to Rabindranath Tagore by misquoting him on the question of child marriages, and also how entirely untrustworthy is the Abbé Dubois (who wrote a century ago) as an authority on Hindu manners and customs. These corrections had to be made and to that extent the replies have been worth while. But considered as answers to the main charges levelled by Miss Mayo against Indian society, both replies must be pronounced disappointing in so far as they admit in substance the truth of the charges, while correcting Miss Mayo on details. The explanation is simple. It is that both Mr. Ranga Iyer and Mr. Natarajan, being ardent reformers themselves, find themselves acknowledging and condemning the very evils which Miss Mayo describes with such vigour. Indeed Mr. Gandhi himself, reviewing, "Mother India," after rightly calling the book a drain inspector's report, concludes by admitting that we often learn more from our critics than from our patrons, that the agitation against the book is in danger of being overdone, and that it could be useful with some profit by a cautious social reformer in India. This was only to be expected from a person of Mr. Gandhi's intellectual honesty and passion for the eradication of social evils. The truth of the matter is that there is in reality only one adequate reply possible to "Mother India" and that reply is

drastic reform, to the hastening of which Miss Mayo has made a powerful contribution.

K. KURIYAN.

THE STORY OF MY EXPERIMENTS WITH TRUTH, by *M. K. Gandhi*.
(Navajian Press. Rs 5/8d.)

The present work is Vol. I of Gandhi's Autobiography, and those who read it will be anxious to read Vol. II., as the work is that of an extraordinary man, and it has a quality all its own. The ordinary reader will marvel at the author's simplicity, which is at times childlike; at the evident sincerity and frankness with which Gandhi faces the facts of his own life and the changing phases of circumstance with the desire to learn from them. At times he will appear Quixotic; at others heroic. To the student of human nature, and especially to the psychologist, this volume is of the utmost value, since it reveals far more than Gandhi ever dreamt he is saying. A strange selfconsciousness makes him afraid to speak before audiences; but this frightened child, who feels and fears physical pain acutely, manifests the courage which faces death without flinching. As we read his story of his own life and his interesting reflections, we can understand why he is such a power in India, and such an enigma to many western minds.

This book ought to be read by Englishmen, for it is good for us to see ourselves as others see us. We shall not be able to avoid the conviction that amidst much that is good, there is much that is oppressive in our rule, and what is more important, we shall see the necessity for respecting the man in men.

Christian teachers and missionaries, if they read with open minds, may be able to understand why Christianity as it has been represented to Gandhi could not bring self-evident conviction. It is to be hoped that it may lead to a deeper and truer understanding of the religion of Jesus some of those who hold, as Gandhi holds, that religion and morality cannot be sundered.

W. F. HALLIDAY.

AN INDIA DAY, by *Edward Thompson*. Knopf. 7/6d.

Gerald Gould writing about "An Indian Day" says:

"What I am sure of is that Mr Thompson writes out of that knowledge which can come only by a really unselfish and unprejudiced desire to understand." The underlying theme of the story is the relations between Indians and English in the recent years of tension. It is a relief to get away from generalisations and large movements and the artificial atmosphere of city life in India to a few individuals "up country" in Bengal who are vividly real, thanks to Mr. Thompson's masterly character drawing. The conversation in the train at the beginning, the tennis parties, the famine scenes, the Sadhu under the tree, are all so true to life that they bring out clearly the views expressed by the different characters. There are some very shrewd remarks about missions and missionaries, about students and college life, about "sheltered young women," about the intoxication of intense national feeling, about the clash of humour between races, and about many other burning questions on which we are always wanting light. The description of the country, especially the early morning in the jungle, and the coming of the cold weather, is so true to detail that it adds much to the reality of the story. For the book is a story, not a vehicle for ideas. The people in it live and work and struggle with great forces around them that they cannot control, and strive after their ideals each in their own way. And after reading the book the truth of the judge's remark is clearer: "I suppose three hundred years together does make two nations something like a family. And a family often behaves very badly in the home." Nothing is settled — either in the book or in one's opinion. But light is let in on perplexing questions, and that is the beginning of understanding.

MARGARET READ.

FLOWERS AND ELEPHANTS, by *Constance Sitwell*, with a foreword by *E. M. Forster*. London. Jonathan Cape. 5/-

This little book of 157 pages is more than a "portfolio of travel sketches" or a "Love story." India has been over-written by transients, mostly of the English governing classes, whose

relations and friends, whether in the civil or military services, gave them at least the opportunity of a cold weather visit to that country. Such have seen India through spectacles tinged with Anglo-Indian or Empire politics. Then there is Mr. Aldous Huxley in "Jesting Pilate". To him India, especially modern India, is chaos. Mrs. Sitwell is different. It is true she writes of a brother in the Indian army. She too may be just a tourist; but the difference is within her. To her there is no such thing as chaos. She realises (as many of her own race do) the order, the unity if you like, of her England, its people, its life, even its landscape, life in nature, which to her seeing mind are but the emblems of infinite perfection. But unlike so many of her fellow travellers she has glimpses of this same divine unity as she passes through India. She sees not merely vignettes but these are transmuted into expressions of that divine perfection which exists in the mind of God. Thus: (p.90).

"At last we drew into our station. Crowds of people thronged it inside and out. They were sitting everywhere, on the hard ground, in clusters and circles, under the bright moonlight, their bundles and brass cooking pots beside them. A little apart Jack and I gazed silently at the scene. The shadows of the roof fell sharply on the white bareness of the earth; there was a dense blackness in the shade of the mud walls; beyond there stretched a cactus hedge; polished it shone like blades of steel in that blue-white brightness. We seemed to be standing in a great silence — a silence so great that the babbling chatter of the people scarcely disturbed it. All sound and all colour were quieted and chastened by the moonlight. While I was looking I had an experience which I had had once or twice before in my life. That which seemed at one moment a chaos, a shifting kaleidoscope with no design, fell suddenly into perfect order, all its bits slipping into place. A new world opened out, a vast calm settled down on all the little scene, on us, on life. "It is all one", I said to myself. "The plan — how clear! And how deep the unity!" I turned, full of peace, to Jack and told him what I felt. "Don't you, too, ever feel it?" I asked. He shook his head. "I see no order. I feel no plan," he said in his hard voice. "There's no sort of certitude in anything for me".

S. K. DATTA.

List of books

Suggested for members of the W.S.C.F. general committee in India, 1928.

A. Book specially commended for perusal before the Committee:

- The Making of Modern India*, by N. Macnicol, Oxf. Univ. Press, 1924, 7s. 6d.
The Indian Outlook, by W.E.S. Holland, Edin. House Press, 1926, 2s.
India in Conflict, by P.N.F. Young, S.P.C.K. 1920, 3s. 6d.
The British Connection with India, by K.T. Paul, S.C.M. 1927, 5s. (Indian Edn. Rs. 2.-).
A Primer of Hinduism, by J.N. Farquhar, Oxf. Univ. Press, 1912, 3s. 6d.
Modern Religious Movements in India, ditto, Macmillan, 1919 (Indian Edn. Rs. 7-).
The Hindu View of Life, by S. Radhakrishnan, Allen & Unwin, 1927, 5s.-.
The Christ of the Indian Road, by E. Stanley Jones, Hodder & Stoughton, 3s. 6d. 1927.
Mahatma Gandhi, by Gray & Parekh, S.C.M. 3s. 6d. 1925.
The Story of my Experiments with Truth, by Mahatma Gandhi, Part I, Rs. 5/8/-, 1927.
Nationalism, by Rabindra Nath Tagore, Macmillan, 1921, 6s.
The Song Celestial (Bhagavad-Gita), by Sir E. Arnold, King & Hall. 2s. 6d.
The Mahabharata & Ramayana (Selections), by R.C. Dutt, Everyman's Library, 1910, 2s.
Atonement (A Drama), by E. Thompson, E. Benn, 1925, 3s. 6d.

B. Books for further study on special aspects of Indian life :

1. INDIA (GENERAL).

- The Heart of Aryavarta*, by Lord Ronaldshay, Constable, 1924, 14s.

- India, Old and New*, by Sir V. Chirol, Macmillan, 10s.
Peoples and Problems of India, by Sir T.W. Holderness, Home Univ. Library, 1912, 2s.
The Women of Bengal, by Mrs. Urquhart, S.C.M., 1926, 5s.

2. INDIAN HISTORY & POLITICS.

- The Oxford History of India*, by Vincent A. Smith, Oxf. Univ. Press, 1923, 14s.
A Short History of India, by E.B. Havell, Macmillan, 1924, 3s. 6d.
The Indian Constitution & its actual working, by D.N. Banerji, Longmans, 1926, 10s.
Indian Nationalism, by Edwyn Bevan, Oxf. Univ. Press, 1913, 3s.
A Nation in Making, by Surendra Nath Banerjee, Oxf. Univ. Press, 1920, 10s. 6d.

3. EDUCATION.

- The Education of India*, by A. Mayhew, Faber & Gwyer, 1926, 10s. 6d.
Village Schools in India, by Mason Olcott, Oxf. Univ. Press, 1926, 3s. 6d.
Village Education in India, by A. Fraser Oxf. Univ. Press, 1921, 2s. 6d.

4. INDIAN RELIGIONS. (A list of books on this subject has already been circulated in connection with the Questionnaire on Christianity & Other Religions; a few additional books are herewith suggested.)

- Indian Theism*, by N. Macnicol, Oxf. Univ. Press, 1915, 7s. 6d.
The Village Gods of South India, by Bishop Whitehead, Oxf. Univ. Press, 1921, 6s.
The Story of Buddhism, by K.J. Saunders, Oxf. Univ. Press, 1916, 4s.
Islam in India, by J. Sharif (Transl. G. Herklots), Oxf. Univ. Press, 1921, 17s.
An Uphill Road in India, by M. Christlieb, G. Allen & Unwin, 1927, 6s.

5. INDIAN BIOGRAPHY.

Rabindra Nath Tagore, by E.J. Thompson, Oxf. Univ. Press, 1921, 2s. 6d.

M. G. Ranade, by J. Kellook, S.C.M. 1926, 3s. 6d.

The Sadhu (Sundar Singh), by B.H. Streeter & A.J. Appasamy, Macmillan, 1921, 2s.

The Autobiography of Maharshi Debendra Nath Tagore, by B.H. Streeter & A.J. Appasamy, Macmillan, 1914, 7s. 6d.

Henry Martyn, by Miss Padwick, S.C.M., 1922, 5s.

Alexander Duff, by W. Paton, S.C.M., 1923, 5s.

6. INDIAN LITERATURE. (English Translations).

Hymns of the Rig-Veda, by A.A. Macdonnell, Oxf. Univ. Press, 1921, 2s. 6d.

Poems by Indian Women, by Mrs. Macnicol, Oxf. Univ. Press, 1923, 2s. 6d.

Psalms of Mahratta Saints, by N. Macnicol, Oxf. Univ. Press, 1919, 2s. 6d.

Psalms of Tamil Saivite Saints, by F. Kingsbury & G. Phillips, Oxf. Univ. Press, 1921, 2s. 6d.

100 Poems from Kabir, by Rabindra Nath Tagore, Macmillan, 5s.

7. INDIAN ART.

Indian Painting, by Percy Brown, Oxf. Univ. Press, 2s. 6d., 1917.

Indian Music, by H.A. Popley, Oxf. Univ. Press, 2s. 6d., 1921.

8. FICTION ABOUT INDIA.

Abdication, by E. Chandler, Constable, 1923, 7s. 6d.

Passage to India, by E. Foster, Arnold, 1924, 5s.

An Indian Day, by E. Thompson, Knopf, 1927, 7s. 6d.

Murugan the Tiller, by K.S. Venkataramani, Madras, 1927, Rs. 2/8.

Notes on Contributors

Mr. C.E. ABRAHAM, M.A., B.D. is Professor at Serampore College, Bengal; he was formerly travelling Secretary of the S.C.A. in India.

Mr. J.S.B. ABRAHAM, M.A. is Warden of the King Hostel (Baptist Missionary Society), Madras; he has been closely connected with the Student Movement in India, both in Bengal and Madras.

Mr. P. CHENCHIAH, M.L., Advocate, is a leading member of the Indian Christian Movement in Madras; he was formerly Editor of the "Christian Patriot" newspaper, and is the author of "Telugu Literature." He is a delegate from India to the Jerusalem Missionary Conference.

Mrs Margaret COUSINS, B. Mus. is Hon. Sec. of the Women's Indian Association, a prominent member of the Theosophical Society at Madras, and a leading worker in social and educational reform in the Indian Women's Movement.

Mr. A.M.K. CUMARASWAMY, B. Sc. is Chairman of the S.C.A. of India, Burma and Ceylon; he was delegate to the High Leigh Committee of the W.S.C.F. in 1924, and is now Secretary to the Diocese of Colombo.

Miss L. DEVASAHAYAM, B.A. is a lecturer at St. Christopher's Training College, Madras, and a member of the Madras Women Student Movement Committee. She has a direct knowledge of women student life in South India and writes with this background in mind.

The Rev. E.C. DEWICK M.A. is National Literature Secretary, Y.M.C.A., of India, Burma and Ceylon. He was formerly Ceylon Secretary of the S.C.A. of India, Burma and Ceylon, 1923-1925.

Mr. D.B. Ellepola, B.A. is a Government Forest Officer, Kandy, Ceylon. His article is a very interesting self-revelation of the position which is held by a large number of students who have come under the influence of Christian Colleges in India.

Mr. H.L. HENRIOD, B.D., is General Secretary, of the World's Student Christian Federation.

The Rev. N. MACNICOL, D. Litt. is a Missionary of the United Free Church of Scotland, He is General Secretary of the National Christian Council of India, Burma, and Ceylon; author of "Indian Theism", Psalms of Maharatti Saints, "The making of modern India" etc., and one of the outstanding leaders and scholars among Missionaries in India to-day.

Mr. R.F. MACCUNE, B.A. has been Travelling Secretary of the Student Christian Movement of India since 1925; he is a graduate of the Punjab University; and was one of the Indian delegates to the General Committee of the W.S.C.F. at Nyborg in Denmark in 1926.

Mr. Mason OLCOTT, Ph. D. is a Missionary of the Arcot Mission, South India; he was Secretary of the Fraser Commission on Village Education in 1920, and published the "Village Schools in India", 1926.

Mr. K.T. PAUL, O.B.E., B.A. is National General Secretary of the Y.M.C.A. and Vice-Chairman W.S.C.F., He is delegate from India to the Jerusalem Missionary Conference and author of "The British connection with India."

Mr. B.L. RALLIA RAM, B. Sc., B.T., is General Secretary of the Y.M.C.A., Lahore. He was one of the earliest travelling Secretaries of the Student Movement in India and is a present member of its General Committee.

Mr. V. VENKATASUBBAIYYA is a representative of the Servants of India Society at Madras.

Mr. A.J. APPASAMY, F.M.A. D. Ph, is the Editor of the Christian Literature Society for India; author of "The Sadhu" (in conjunction with Canon Streeter) and of "Christianity as Bhakti Marga". He has studied in American, English and Continental Universities; and is the leader in the Movement for an Indian interpretation of Christianity.



THE STUDENT WORLD

A quarterly magazine published at 13, Rue Calvin, Geneva,
by the World's Student Christian Federation

J. R. MOTT, *Chairman*

HENRY-LOUIS HENRIOD,
General Secretary

* FRANCIS P. MILLER,
Administrative Secretary, Editor.

MISS G. QUIN, *Associate Editor.*

VOLUME XXI

July 1928

NUMBER 3

The Theme of the India Meeting.

It was decided a year ago that the theme for the discussions of the General Committee at its meeting in India next December would be "Christ in the Life of His Followers." The experience of Christ in life means very different things to different sections of the Church. It is not too much to say that it means a different thing to each individual. There is one Christ, but His Life flows out in countless channels and expresses itself in myriad ways. The glory of his living spirit is the countless variety of forms through which it reveals itself. It has been the intention of the editors to include in this number of the "Student World" a few representative statements which will illustrate this variety of the revelation of Christ in the thought of his followers. We do so because we believe that the cross-fertilization that results from exposing different points of view to each other is essential to the continuance of creative activity and spiritual productivity. All intellectual or religious schools of thought which pull down the blinds of their own windows and refuse to test the truth of their own partial doctrines by whatever light may exist outside themselves will inevitably end by becoming intellectually sterile and religiously decadent, however much virility they may display at the moment.

While it is perfectly true, as Dr. Barth points out in the letter he has been kind enough to allow the "Student World" to publish, that the totality of different points of view does not

equal the truth, it is equally true that any one given point of view will approach nearer the truth after exposure to the stimulating and invigorating contrasts that other points of view offer. The peril of syncretism is real, but the peril of segregation is equally real. The way lies somewhere between.

As far as the Western Church is concerned, the pride and arrogance which has led it to regard the segregation and defense of religious points of view as a greater virtue than their exposure and explanation is doubtless one of its real vices, and more than anything else prevents the development of the true consciousness of a world community among Christians. If the position that one holds is true, he can well afford to display it alongside of others in order that the Christian world as a whole may compare and profit by the comparison. The Federation conceives of itself as having the duty to encourage among its members a willingness to expose their own expression of faith to the corrective that comparison brings. It also has the duty to encourage each one to give the most complete and vital expression to his own particular faith that he possibly can, in order that each person may bring of his best to the City in which the honour and glory of the nations will be assembled.

Why Jesus Christ Commands My Allegiance.

By W.B. SELBIE.

I understand that I am expected to give some kind of personal testimony as to the relations between myself and Jesus Christ, and the reasons which compel me to call Him Master and Lord. It is obvious that this can only be done with certain reservations. There are depths in the religious experience of most men that they can never reveal to others. And yet I agree that Christians are often too reticent, and that there is laid upon them a duty of witnessing for Christ which will inevitably involve a measure of personal confession.

A Manifestation of God.

In attempting any such witness I would put first the fact that to me Jesus Christ has the religious value of God. I see God in Him, and think of God in terms of His life and mind. Jesus was surely unique in the expression which He gave to God's attitude and relationship to men, an expression conveyed not merely in His direct teaching, but in His whole life and demeanour. The recognition of this came to me as it has done to multitudes of others with all the force of a revelation. Time was when I was afraid of God. He stood to me for something hard, exacting and aloof. He seemed to make demands which I found it very difficult to meet. But Jesus Christ changed all that! When I first realised that God is like Him, and that His life as it were translated God in human terms, my religion took on an entirely new aspect. To know Jesus Christ as God manifest in the flesh is in itself an emancipation. Fear is cast out, slavery is turned into sonship, and the temple roof becomes the open sky. It is possible to think of God with that quiet confidence and entire freedom from anxiety which Jesus Himself knew, and which, once we can attain it, alters the whole perspective of life. I would not perhaps go so far as to say that the acknowledgment of God in Christ solves all problems "in the earth and out of it," but I certainly think that it lays a foundation on which we can safely build, or presents us with a key which we shall be wise to use. One of the astonishing and disappointing things about many types of Christianity is the evidence they give of a conception

of God and His requirements, which is Pagan rather than Christian. If God is Love and His attitude to us one of saving grace, then our response to Him should be one of boundless gratitude, obedience and faith. It is incredible that such a God should require of us to placate Him with fastings, orthodoxies and ritual. It is because Jesus Christ substituted for these things a spiritual sonship and a worship based on confidence and love that He presents to needy and penitent souls so irresistible an attraction.

A New Vision of Man.

Closely bound up with the revelation of God in the life and teaching of Jesus was His new valuation of man. Much of the strength of His appeal lies in the fact that He knew what was in man and yet never despaired of him. He chose His disciples from very ordinary people and gave them credit for powers and capacities which they would never have claimed for themselves. Even sinners and outcasts were not beyond the pale of His regard. They might be lost for the time being, but in the mouth of Jesus the word lost always meant capable of being found. With Him, therefore, there is hope for the very worst of us, and the fact that He sees us not as we are but as we might be and may become, is another ground of our gratitude to and hope in Him. There is something singularly attractive in the attitude of Jesus to women and children, and in the broad and tender humanity of His relations with the sick and sorrowing. There is in Him an entire absence of that slightly superior air with which most good people approach the outsider and the unfortunate. And it is just here that He challenges us and claims our admiring allegiance. We all know that we ought to emulate His spirit of charity, and we also know how difficult it is. Yet it is so essentially right that we should see men and women with His eyes, and that we should be as slow to judge the evil and as quick to see the good in them as He was, that we cannot but recognise here a standard by which our Christianity will be rightly judged. That Jesus Christ has shown me the way to a truer estimate of my fellow men and to happier relations with them is not the least of His benefits.

A Passion for Goodness.

Further, He has a most undoubted claim on my allegiance because of His moral supremacy. It is not merely that He is a conscience incarnate and that His teaching sets forth the highest

possible moral ideal. He is Himself the embodiment of that ideal and by His self-denying devotion to goodness, and the strength of His resistance to evil appeals to the best in us and stirs it to emulation. In His insistence on the inwardness of morality and on the supreme importance of intention and desire, He strikes a note so different from that of conventional ethics that it drives one to penitence and self-examination. The Christian character as Jesus envisages it is supremely attractive because it avoids the extremes of asceticism, Puritanism and Pharisaism, and reveals itself in poise, purity, simplicity and service. Jesus teaches that the end of all religion is goodness, and that it is by their fruits that Christians must be known. The goodness that He inculcates is not some cloistered or academic virtuosity, but a veritable passion, strong, eager, active and benevolent.

An Interpreter of Life.

All this, however, is only part of that wider interpretation of life for which Jesus stood and still stands. It was said of Him that "He came that men might have life and that they might have it abundantly." His mission was to bring men here and now into touch with life eternal, and to help them to live in the only worthy sense of the term. So, again, He claims my allegiance because He is the Lord of all good life. As such, the great thing He does for us is to help us to "see life steadily and see it whole." He gives to men a sense of proportion and perspective, and so delivers them from dilletantism on the one hand, and fanaticism on the other. With Him the body is not the enemy of the soul but a means to its development, and He shows His followers how they may live in the world though they be not of it. That "man doth not live by bread alone," and that "a man's life consisteth not in the abundance of the things that he possesseth" is of the very essence of the teaching of Jesus. It is this suggestion of aims and interests far transcending those of this world that gives both direction and stability to the life of a Christian. It also meets a psychological need and delivers man from those earthly appetites which war against the soul. In the stress He lays on other-regarding impulses as over against one's native selfishness, and on the desires and intentions of the heart as over against the decencies of outward observance, Jesus gives an interpretation of life which becomes at once a challenge and an inspiration. It meets the needs of our higher nature by widening

our whole horizon and teaching us to look not at the things which are seen, but at the things which are not seen and eternal. It might be said of Him that while He lived in the present "the far future was His world always." He "brings life and immortality to light" not merely to redress the balance of things in this world, but rather to correct our perspective, and help us to live better and judge more justly by seeing all things *sub specie eternitatis*.

The Living Christ.

But when all this has been said the question still remains, How is this ideal life to be attained? Who is sufficient for these things? It is quite true that if Jesus merely sets before men an ideal acknowledged to be high and almost unattainable, then His teaching must be regarded as little more than a counsel of despair. It is not difficult to realise its truth and greatness. Men are not slow to admire it, and even to see in the call to follow it an obvious duty. They know what they ought to do, the question is how to do it? Now it is just here that Jesus Christ seems to me to become something more than an ideal and an example. He is a power as well as a pattern, and He claims allegiance because He is able to give men the strength to attain the heights to which he points them. What is sometimes called the doctrine of the Living Christ presents, no doubt, many difficulties, but the fact to which it witnesses has to be taken into account. The personality of Jesus Christ is a force to be reckoned with and works on other personalities in a way for which there is good psychological justification. We all know how profoundly we can be influenced by some person stronger and better than we are, even though our contacts are few and far between. So with Jesus Christ, if we seek to do His will, and think His thoughts, and share His ideals, in other words, if we follow Him, we find that, as of old, virtue goes out of Him into us, we are lifted out of ourselves and above our weaknesses, so that we can almost say with the Apostle Paul, "It is no longer I that live, but Christ that liveth in me." It is in this moral catharsis and renewal that the saving power of Jesus Christ has its perfect work, and He becomes to His followers not merely a memory but a personal and living force. The power of God unto salvation is mediated through Him in the quickness of conscience and the renewal of the springs of a higher life. While the

occasion of this is, no doubt, the appeal made by His personality as a whole, that appeal is focussed and intensified in the cross. Whatever theory of the Atonement they may hold, there is a sense in which all Christians share the experience of St. Paul expressed in the words "Who loved me and gave Himself up for me." Their whole attitude to Jesus Christ is coloured from the outset by an intense personal gratitude, and this gives point and direction to all their intercourse with Him. What He did is at least as important as what He was and is in determining our relation to Him and His power over us.

The Gospel Portrait.

Now I am conscious that all this needs some further defence and even apology. To many people in these days New Testament criticism has rendered the view here indicated of the work and person of Jesus Christ very difficult if not impossible. In their eyes the picture is so blurred and the history so dubious that Jesus Christ becomes little more than an elusive and unsatisfying phantom. To me, however, this seems a very lame and impotent conclusion. I am thankful for all that modern scholarship has done in the elucidation of the New Testament and its problems. But when criticism has had its perfect work, enough remains for faith and love. I cannot understand how anyone with the smallest literary sense or psychological insight, can fail to discern behind the Synoptic writers and the Fourth Gospel a vivid and coherent portraiture of a person of transcendent genius and power. It may be doubted whether any literary artistry, however skilful, could have succeeded so well in conveying to the world so convincing and homogeneous a picture of a great personality as have those candid and unconscious witnesses the four evangelists. It needs but very little imagination to recognise here one who, though over the heads of His reporters, has yet been represented by them in His true colours.

The Source of Endless Life.

But granted that this is so, have we not here merely an historical figure, and is it possible for men and women to-day, in any real sense, to come into communion with and be influenced by one who lived so long ago and in a world so different from ours? I have

already indicated the answer to this question. For every one who cares to make Jesus Christ "The Master light of all his seeing," and to call Him Master and Lord, He becomes a supreme and potent reality for moral and spiritual life. The history of the Church is one long witness to His power. In countless disciples He has been born again and become in them the source of an endless life. Though they have not seen Him, they love Him, and their love is turned into joy.

"Jesus, these eyes have never seen
That radiant form of thine;
The veil of sense hangs dark between
Thy blessed face and mine.

Yea, tho' I have not seen and still
Must rest in faith alone;
I love thee, dearest Lord, and will
Unseen but not unknown."

The Truth of Orthodoxy.

By N. BERTIAEFF.

Western Christian thought knows little of Orthodoxy. It is generally only the outward and, above all, the negative sides of the Orthodox Church that are known. Its inner spiritual treasures are still hidden from the West. Orthodoxy has always been secluded; the spirit of proselytism was foreign to it; it did not strive to show the world its true face. For a long time the part occupied in the world by Orthodoxy was not of the same importance as that taken up by Catholicism and Protestantism. Orthodoxy did not play the same active part in history. It stood quite aloof from the passionate religious struggle which lasted through many centuries. Its life flowed peacefully on under the protection of great Empires (Byzantine, Russian), and it was thanks to the destructive processes of the world's history that it had accepted eternal truth. It is very characteristic for the religious type of Orthodoxy that it has never taken a sufficiently prominent part in actual life, or been sufficiently developed in the outward sphere. However, it was just because of this that the truths of Christian revelation were reflected in it in the least perverted aspect. Orthodoxy is that form of Christianity which in its veritable essence has been least of all touched by human history. There have been many historical sins in the Orthodox Church. These chiefly proceeded from the outward dependence of the Church on the state. But the teaching of the Church, its inner spiritual path, remained pure and unsullied. In contradiction to the Catholic Church, which is preeminently a Christianity of authority, a Church of *tradition*, the Orthodox Church never had one sole outward authoritative organisation. Its unshattered strength lay in its spiritual inner traditions, not in outward authority. Of all aspects of Christianity, Orthodoxy is the one which is most closely linked to that of primitive Christianity. Spiritual tradition gives the Church the strength of spiritual experience. The spiritual path trodden by others is received by it as a heritage. This strength of spiritual life stands much above our personal life. In it each generation oversteps the boundaries of self-satisfaction and isolation, and participates in the spiritual life of all the preceding generations. Ay, even in that of the Apostles. It seems as if we felt the heart-

beats of one and the same heart. Tradition brings down to me the same experience, the same revelation as those received by the apostles, the martyrs, the saints, the Fathers of the Church, the whole Christian world. In tradition my knowledge grows to be not only my own personal knowledge, but a knowledge outside and beyond my own personality. I live not only as a separate entity; I live also in the Body of Christ; I live in one organism with all my brethren in Christ. Orthodoxy is, first of all, the Orthodox conception of life. In the eyes of Orthodoxy the man whose spiritual life is false is the real heretic, not the man who professes false doctrine. Orthodoxy is, first of all, not a doctrine, not an outward organisation, not established rules of outward conduct, but *spiritual life*, spiritual experience, and a spiritual path. In the eyes of Orthodoxy the essence of Christianity lies in inner spiritual activity. Of all Christian denominations Orthodoxy is the one which has the fewest strictly established rules, (in the rational-logical and moral-juridical conception of the word), and which has the most spiritual conception of religion. And, strange to say, it has often been just this inner spiritual life of Orthodoxy which has caused its outward weakness. The outward failings and defects of Orthodoxy; its passivity and the incompleteness with which it has been carried out in actual life have been obvious to all. But its spiritual life, its spiritual treasures have remained hidden and unseen. This is very characteristic for the spiritual type of the East and quite foreign to the Western one, which has always been active and has manifested itself in outward life. However, this very activity has often impoverished it spiritually. In the Eastern world the non-Christian life of India remains hidden from the outward eye and plays no active historical part. Here we can draw a certain analogy, even though the spiritual type of the Christian East is very different from the spiritual type of India. In contrast to the Catholic Church, no written records of holiness of the Orthodox world have come down to us; it has remained hidden from the outward eye. This is the reason why it is so difficult for the outsider to judge of the spiritual life of Orthodoxy.

Mystical — not Intellectual.

Orthodoxy has not passed through a century of scholastics; it has only lived through patristic centuries. Up till the present day the Orthodox Church has reflected the teaching of the

Eastern Fathers of the Church. The West sees in this a symptom of a retrograde mentality; the failing of creative impulse. However, this fact can be explained in quite another manner. In Orthodoxy Christianity was never built up into a rational system, as, thanks to Aristotle and the regeneration of Greek intellectualism, it was in the West, in Catholicism. In Orthodoxy doctrine never acquired such a binding importance and dogmas were not fettered with obligatory theological and philosophic explanations; they were, first of all, understood as mystical facts. In the philosophic and theological exposition of dogma we were given much more freedom. During the nineteenth and twentieth centuries the creative Orthodox thought of Russia tried to find an answer for the new historical problems which had not existed during the Byzantine empire. Much freedom and spiritual boldness were manifested in this search. The spiritual type of Orthodoxy is above all and from the very outset an ontological one. This ontologism is, first of all, manifested in Orthodox life, and only after that in Orthodox thought. The general tendency of the Christian West was to move along the lines of critical thought, along intellectual paths in which the subject stood in contrast to the object. Thus the organic wholeness of thought and its connection with life were destroyed. The strength of the West lies in the complexity and development of its mental life; in its reflexive and critical spirit; in its refined intellectuality; in its mighty science. But along these paths the connection between knowledge and mental life on the one hand and the essential primary essence of existence and life on the other was broken. Knowledge was separated from life — thought from existence. Knowledge and thought were not actualised in the spiritual completeness of man, in the organic entity of all his powers. The West had achieved great conquests in this respect, but this caused the decomposition of the century-old ontological thought, and the thought of the West no longer touches the depth of existence. This has resulted in the scholastic intellectualism, rationalism, empiricism, subjective idealism, and pragmatism of Western mentality. But Orthodox thought remained true to its ontological nature; it touched the veritable essence of existence. This manifested itself in the Russian religious, philosophic, and theological thought of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Orthodoxy has remained foreign to rationalism and to the legalistic spirit; foreign to outward fixed rules. The Orthodox Church did not express itself in rationalistic ideas; it can be comprehended only by those who live *in* it,

who are in communion with its spiritual experience. The mystical Body of Christ can be expressed by no intellectual definitions, there are no legalistic, no rational symptoms that can help to an understanding of it. True Orthodox theology is a theology of spiritual experience. There are almost no scholastic text-books in Orthodoxy. Orthodoxy is conscious of being a religion of the Holy Trinity; it is no abstract monotheism, but a concrete belief in a Tri-une God. And it is in spiritual life, in spiritual experience, and in the spiritual path that the life of the Holy Trinity is reflected. The Orthodox liturgy begins with the words: "Blessed be the Kingdom of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost." It, so to say, begins service from above; from the conception of the Divine Trinity; not from the human soul, longing for and striving towards God. In the Orthodox temple we feel, first of all, that the Divine Trinity has come down to us, and not that man is striving up to God. The soul of Orthodoxy is not a "Gothic" soul. In Western Christianity the idea of the Trinity has occupied a less prominent place. It is the Personality of Christ that is the central figure there; it is also more anthropological. This difference had already become clearly defined at the time of the Eastern and Western Patriarchs. For the Fathers of the Eastern Church the starting point of theology was the Divine Trinity. The Fathers of the Western Church laid more stress on the human soul. Therefore the East preeminently revealed to us the mystery of the trinitarian and Christological dogma. The West, on the contrary, expounded in the first place the teaching of grace and of freedom and of the organisation of the Church. But there was great wealth and variety of thought in the West, and it was there that the human world was revealed to us.

The Religion of the Spirit.

Orthodoxy is the form of Christianity in which the Holy Ghost has revealed Himself the most fully. This was the reason why the Orthodox Church did not accept the teaching of "Filioque;" for in it it saw a tendency to give a subordinate place to the teaching of the Holy Ghost. Dogmatic doctrine has revealed to us least fully the nature of the Holy Ghost. But the direct action of the Holy Ghost in the world is manifested very clearly to us, and it is most immanent in the world. The Holy Ghost acts directly in all creation and transforms created

beings. Some remarkable words of St. Seraphim, the greatest of Russian saints, regarding this have come down to us. Orthodoxy is not only trinitarian in its very essence; its aim is not only the transfiguration of the life of the world according to the spirit of the Holy Trinity; but it is, above all, transfigured by the presence of the Holy Ghost. Of course I am all the time speaking of the deep currents underlying Orthodoxy; not of the superficial tendencies which are sometimes prevalent in it. This pre-eminence given to the teaching of the Holy Ghost, this expectation of a new outpouring of the Holy Ghost in the world, is most frequently developed on Orthodox ground. It is the remarkable peculiarity of Orthodoxy. Orthodoxy has often been more conservative and strictly traditional than either the Catholic or the Protestant teaching. But on the other hand, in its very depths. Orthodoxy always manifested a great expectation of a new religious spirit in the world; of the outpouring of the Holy Ghost, of the revelation of a New Jerusalem. For nearly a thousand years Orthodoxy did not develop historically; evolution was foreign to it. But in its depths were hidden mysterious possibilities of religious strength, which were so to say stored up for a new, not yet existing, historical epoch. This was manifested in the Russian religious tendencies of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Orthodoxy more sharply than all other religions separates the Divine and the world of Nature; the Kingdom of God and the Kingdom of Caesar. It does not admit of drawing an analogy between them as Catholic theology so often does.

Such a point of view, however, establishes no dualistic principles. On the contrary, it states that all the created world is transfused by Divine Energy. Divine Energy acts in man and in the world. We cannot say in speaking of creation that it is God, a part of God, or a manifestation of God. But we can also not say that it is outside the Divine. God and Divine life do not resemble the world of Nature. Here no analogy can be possible. God is without end. The life of Nature is strictly limited and finite. Yet Divine Energy is poured out into the World of Nature. This Energy reacts on it and brings light into it. This is what we understand when we speak of the action of the Holy Ghost. For Orthodox consciousness the teaching of Thomas Aquinas regarding the world of Nature, which he contrasts with the supernatural world, betokens a certain secularisation of the world. Orthodoxy is in its very essence a teaching of the Holy

Ghost. Therein lies its chief peculiarity. The teaching of the Holy Ghost is but the logical development of the trinitarian teaching. Grace is not the mediator between separate and opposed elements of the natural and the supernatural. Grace is the action of Divine Energy in creation; it is the presence of the Holy Ghost in the world. It is just this teaching of the Holy Ghost which renders Orthodoxy the least legalistic form of Christianity, *i.e.* here more than elsewhere we see the predominance of the principles of the New over those of the Old Testament. In its most exalted moments Orthodoxy understands the aim of life as the acquisition of the Grace of the Holy Ghost, as the spiritual transfiguration of created beings. This point of view differs in its very essence from the legalistic one in which the Divine and the super-human world sets down the law and the rules for the created world. Orthodoxy is, first of all, liturgical. It teaches and leads the people not so much by preaching to them and instructing them in the laws and rules of conduct, as by the direct liturgical rites, in which it gives examples of transfigured lives. It teaches the people by setting before them the examples of the saints; by encouraging the cult of holiness. But the examples of the saints do not follow any fixed rules, in them is rather manifested the enlightening Grace and the transfiguration of creation by the Holy Ghost. This type of Orthodoxy, which is limited by no fixed rules, does not fit easily into historical life, nor is it favourable to any kind of social organisation. The hidden mysteries of the action of the Holy Ghost in creation have not been actually manifested in historical life.

The Individual and the Church.

The characteristic feature of Orthodoxy is *freedom*. This inner freedom may not be outwardly perceptible. But it transpires everywhere. The idea of freedom as the foundation of Orthodoxy was manifested in Russian religious thought during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The acceptance of freedom of conscience marks the difference between the Orthodox and the Catholic Church. Yet the Orthodox Church understands freedom in quite another sense than the Protestant. Protestantism and the whole of Western mentality have an individualistic conception of liberty. It is looked upon as the right of one individual to protect himself from the encroachments of other individuals; it leads to autonomy. But individualism is foreign to Orthodoxy.

Orthodoxy has its own peculiar spirit of collectivism. The religious personality and the religious collective body do not stand in contrast to each other ; their relations are not outward. Religious personality is an intrinsic part of the religious collective body, and the religious collective body is an intrinsic part of the religious personality. Therefore the religious collective body is not an outward authority for the religious personality, an authority that binds it from outside to a fixed teaching and to fixed laws of life. The Church is not something standing outside the religious personality of those who belong to the Church. Therefore the Church is not an authority ; it is a Grace-given unity of love and freedom. An authoritative spirit and individualism are both foreign to Orthodoxy, because both of them are the result of a rupture between the collective body of the Church and religious personality. There can be no spiritual life without freedom of conscience, without spiritual freedom. Without these you cannot abide in the Church, because the Church wants no slaves ; because God needs only free men. Yet veritable freedom of the religious conscience, spiritual freedom is manifested not in an isolated autonomic self-asserting personality, but in a personality which has become conscious that it is part of a super-personal unity, part of one spiritual organism, part of Christ's Body, *i.e.* part of the Church. My own conscience is not an outward part of the super-personal conscience. It is not contrasted with it. My own conscience reveals itself within the conscience of the Church. But without the active spiritual participation of my own conscience, of my own spiritual liberty, the life of the Church will not be realised ; the spirit of communion and fellowship will not exist. The life of the Church cannot remain something outward and outwardly binding for the individual. To be able to abide in the Church you must have spiritual freedom not only at the moment of entering it (this much is admitted even by the Catholics) but during the whole time that you are within the fold of the Church. All that is accomplished without spiritual freedom is un-spiritual, despotic, outward, conventional. The Catholic Church was always less subject to the state, but in Orthodoxy there was always more inner freedom. In Orthodoxy freedom is organically bound up with a *communion of Christian fellowship*, *i.e.* with the manifestation of the Holy Spirit within a religious collective body. This was the possession of the Church not only at the time of the Œcumenical Councils, but it abides in it for all times. In this communion of Christian fellowship in Orthodoxy consists the life of the

religious people. Yet it has no outward legal evidences ; it has only inward spiritual ones. Even an Œcumenical Council does not possess outward infallible authority. Infallible authority can be found only in the Church as a whole, within the whole course of its history, and all the members of the Church are the bearers and treasurers of this authority. The Œcumenical Councils possess authority not because they were assembled according to outward juridical legal competency, but because all the members of the Church accepted them as being Œcumenical and true. Only such a Council is true upon which the Holy Ghost has been poured out. But such a manifestation of the Holy Ghost has no outward juridical criteria. It is revealed to the Church by an inward spiritual testimony. All this shows that Christ's Church has no juridical, no fixed-rule character. At the same time our conception of the Church is the most ontological, because we see in the Church, first of all, not an organisation or an institution, but simply a society of the faithful, a real spiritual organism ; the mystical Body of Christ.

The Transfiguration of Life.

Orthodoxy is more *cosmic* than Western Christianity. Neither in the Catholic nor in the Protestant Church was the cosmic nature of the Church, as the Body of Christ, sufficiently stressed. Western Christianity is very anthropological and social. But the Church is also a cosmos made Christlike. In it the whole created world is transfigured by the Holy Ghost. The advent of Christ — God and Man — is of cosmogonic importance ; it reveals to us, so to say, a new day of creation. Quite unknown to Orthodoxy is the juridical conception of Redemption, as the solving of a law-suit between God and man. Orthodoxy's understanding of it as the revelation of a new being, a new mankind, is more ontological, more cosmic. The central and leading idea of Eastern patristics was the idea of *deodis*, of the deification of man and of the created world. Salvation is the raising of man to a Divine level. And the whole of the created world, the whole cosmos, can be rendered Divine. Salvation is the enlightenment and the transfiguration of all created beings ; it is no juridical justification. Orthodoxy turns to the mystery of the *Resurrection*, to the apex, to the last aim of Christianity. Therefore the feast of Easter, the bright Resurrection of Christ, is the central moment of the life of the Orthodox Church. The bright rays of

Resurrection light up the whole Orthodox world. In the Orthodox cult the festival of Easter has an infinitely greater importance than in that of the Catholic Church. Here Christmas — the birth of Christ — occupies a more prominent place. In the Catholic Church we are chiefly made to see Christ crucified; in the Orthodox Church — Christ risen. The Cross is the path man has to tread, but this path leads us and the whole world to Resurrection. The mystery of the Cross has sometimes hidden from us the mystery of Resurrection. But the mystery of Resurrection is the final mystery of Orthodoxy. And the mystery of Resurrection is not only a mystery of mankind, but of the whole cosmos. The East, as a general rule, is more cosmic than the West. The West is very human. Therein lies its strength and significance and its limitations. On the spiritual soil of Orthodoxy the striving for universal salvation blossoms forth. We must seek salvation not individually, but in a communion of Christian fellowship, together with the whole world. In Orthodoxy we could never hear words similar to those of St. Thomas Aquinas, who said that to see the torments of sinners in hell would add to the bliss of the righteous in Paradise. Never also could the teaching of predestination, either in the conception of Calvin, or in that of St. Augustine, have sprung up on Orthodox soil. Most of the Fathers of the Eastern Church, beginning with Clement of Alexandria and ending with St. Maxim the Confessor, were adherents of the apocatastasis, i.e. of a universal regeneration and salvation. This is also very characteristic, if not for official theology, still for Russian creative mentality. Orthodox consciousness never was crushed by the idea of Divine Justice. Divine Love was never hidden by it. The final aim is not the justification of man from the standpoint of Divine Justice, but the transfiguration and deification of man and of the cosmos. The realisation of Christianity in life is a manifestation of a transfiguring spiritual strength which can conquer death. It is not the fulfilment of moral commandments; for such a fulfilment has no strength in itself. But such a realisation is possible only if you believe in the living risen Christ.

The Eschatological Expectation.

And finally the most important feature of Orthodoxy is its *eschatology*. In the depths of Orthodoxy there was much of the eschatology of primitive Christianity; the expectation of the Second Advent of Christ, of the coming Resurrection. This

eschatology of Orthodoxy is seen in the comparatively slight clinging to this world and to earthly life; it is seen in a striving after heaven and eternity, i.e. after the Kingdom of God. In Western Christianity the realisation of it along historical paths, the striving to bring order into our earthly life, to build up an organisation upon earth, often hid from human sight the eschatological mystery, the mystery of the Second Advent of Christ. But in Orthodoxy this great eschatological expectation has been kept intact, just because Orthodoxy has been much less historically active. The apocalyptic side of Christianity has been much less expressed in the Western conception. On the contrary, in the East, on Orthodox soil, and especially on the soil of Russian Orthodoxy, apocalyptic tendencies have been greatly developed, and the expectation of new outpourings of the Holy Ghost are very living. Orthodoxy is the most conservative form of Christianity; the one in which tradition plays the greatest part, for it is here that the truth of Ancient Times has been preserved. But it is also in Orthodoxy that the possibility of the greatest religious renovations is hidden. This would, however, not be the renovation of human mentality and human culture. In this kind of renovation the West has always been particularly rich. But it would be the renewing of a religious transfiguration of life. It is peculiarly characteristic for Orthodoxy that life has remained an integral whole, notwithstanding the differentiation of culture. The soil of Orthodoxy has not produced such a great culture as the Catholic and the Protestant religions have. Perhaps this was the case because Orthodoxy was directed towards the Kingdom of God. This Kingdom could not be the result of gradual historical evolution, but of a mysterious transfiguration of the world. Not evolution, but transfiguration is characteristic of Orthodoxy. You cannot learn to know Orthodoxy by studying official theological treatises. You can only know it by knowing the life of the Church and the life of the members of the Church. Still less can it be expressed as an abstract idea. However, Orthodoxy should come forth from its secluded and isolated position; it should realise its hidden spiritual wealth. Then only will it be of importance for the world. The belief in the exclusive spiritual significance of Orthodoxy, as the truest form of Christianity, ought not to call forth in us a feeling of self-satisfaction and a denial of the importance of Western Christianity. On the contrary, we ought to learn to know Western Christianity; we ought to stand in close communion with it. And I believe we could learn much from it. We must strive

towards Christian unity. Orthodoxy can be a peculiarly favourable soil for such a union. Orthodoxy is the form of Christianity which has been least of all secularised, therefore it can give much to the Christian world. A Christianised world does not mean a worldly Christianity. Christianity cannot remain isolated from the world and from the movements that are taking place in it. It must reach down to the world, so that it may conquer the world. It must not be conquered by the world.

Zusammenfassung.

Die orthodoxe Lehre ist im Westen nur wenig bekannt. Sie hat niemals die gleiche bedeutende Stellung in der Welt gehabt wie der Katholizismus oder Protestantismus. Sie ist weder in die grossen religiösen Streitfragen verflochten gewesen, noch hat sie einen Einfluss auf die grossen Geschehnisse gehabt, die zu dem Fortschritt der Geschichte wesentlich beigetragen haben; aber gerade darum hat sie in sich die Wahrheiten der Offenbarungen Christi am reinsten erhalten. Die Tradition ist ein bedeutender Faktor im Leben der orthodoxen Kirche, sie steht dem Christentum in gewisser Beziehung sehr nahe und besitzt gleichzeitig einen Schatz an geistigen Erfahrungen, kraft derer die einzelnen Glieder der Kirche in ihrem ganz persönlichem Leben teilhaben an dem Mysterium des Leibes Christi und an der Gemeinschaft der Gläubigen. Da in der orthodoxen Kirche nur wenig feststehende Regeln festgesetzt worden sind, hat sie auch nicht den Charakter einer wohldurchdachten, vielleicht etwas starren Organisation, sondern ist voll inneren Lebens. Mit diesem absolut reinen Charakter steht eine gewisse gewisse Schwäche verbunden, eine gewisse Passivität, sodass ihre Lehren oft wenig Anwendung in irdischen Leben finden. Und gerade dieser Mangel, besonders in dem Mangel an Aktivität, ist sie immer im Gegensatz zu dem Westen östlich gewesen.

Ein Stadium voll Suchens nach intellektueller Formulierung, wie das westlichen Kontexten der z.B. unter den Scholastikern durchlebten, kennt die orthodoxe Kirche nicht. Nie lag ihr ein rationalistisches Schema zu Grunde, noch hat die patriarchale Philosophie eine besondere Aufmerksamkeit zu heben gehabt. Dennoch hat ihr Hauptgewicht nach nicht, wie bei den westlichen Kontexten des Westens, im intellektuellen sondern im mystischen, das hat zur Folge geführt, dass ihre Dogmen weniger stark sind. Ihr Hauptinteresse lag immer in der Ontologie, in der Behandlung der wichtigsten Probleme des Daseins. Im Westen entwickelte sich das intellektuelle und kritische Denken von diesen Grundproblemen und konzentrierte sich darauf auf die wissenschaftliche Entdeckungen, und so wurde die organische Ganzheit des Denkens und die Verbindung mit dem Leben zerstört, und der Intellektualismus, Rationalismus, Empirismus und Pragmatismus sind für die westliche Mentalität charakteristisch geworden.

Die orthodoxe Lehre ist in erster Linie die Lehre vom Heiligen Geist; ihr Ziel ist die Verklärung des weltlichen Lebens durch den Geist der Heiligen Dreieinigkeit, aber vor allem durch die Gegenwart des Heiligen Geistes. Die Erwartung einer erneuten Ausgiessung des Heiligen Geistes,

wie unter den Aposteln, ist nicht selten unter den Orthodoxen, aber dadurch birgt die orthodoxe Kirche auch viel mehr mystische Möglichkeiten einer religiösen Erneuerung in sich und dies besonders, weil sie konservativer und traditioneller als Katholizismus und Protestantismus ist.

Obgleich die orthodoxe Lehre eine scharfe Grenze zieht zwischen Gott und der Natur, zwischen dem himmlischen Reich und dem Caesars, kann man dies doch nicht als dualistisches Prinzip ansehen, sondern es liegt dem vielmehr der Glaube zu Grunde, dass die geschaffene Welt von göttlicher Kraft durchflutet wird; was ungefähr dasselbe ist, wie wenn wir vom Wirken des Heiligen Geistes sprechen.

Der Begriff des weltlichen und überweltlichen und der Gnade als Vermittlerin zwischen diesen beiden ganz verschiedenen Elementen, wie wir ihn bei dem Heiligen Thomas Aquinas finden, ist für die orthodoxe Auffassung zu streng und gesetzmässig. Man empfindet die Gnade viel mehr in der Auswirkung der göttlichen Kraft in der Schöpfung, und in der Ausströmung des Geistigen auf die erschaffenen Wesen. Gerade in dieser Voraussetzung der Grundanschauungen des Neuen Testaments vor denen des Alten hat die orthodoxe Lehre im Vergleich zu den übrigen christlichen Konfessionen weniger den Charakter der Gesetzmässigkeit in sich entwickelt. Sie ist mehr liturgisch als gesetzmässig, sie unterweist und leitet die Menschen nicht durch moralische Gesetze, sondern durch die Vorbilder verkürter Leben, durch das der Heiligen, und so findet die Heiligenverehrung einen Raum in ihr.

Das bezeichnendste Charakteristikum der Orthodoxie ist Freiheit; gerade darin unterscheidet sie sich wohl am meisten vom Katholizismus. Andererseits ist aber ihr Begriff der Freiheit ein ganz anderer wie wir ihn im Protestantismus finden, der zur Autonomie des Individuums führt, denn in der Orthodoxie sieht man das Individuum nur als Glied einer überpersönlichen Einheit an, als Glied eines geistigen Organismus, dem Leib Christi, d.h. der Kirche. Aber die Autorität der Kirche ist nicht etwas äusseres, etwas das ausserhalb des Individuum wäre; das Bewusstsein des Individuum offenbart sich in dem Bewusstsein der Kirche, und ohne es wäre das wahre Leben der Kirche unmöglich. Im Vergleich zur katholischen ist die orthodoxe Kirche immer in stärkerem Mass dem Staat untertan gewesen, aber in ihr hat es stets eine grössere geistige Freiheit gegeben.

Die Autorität der Kirche liegt nicht in Gesetzen sondern in der Gegenwart des Heiligen Geistes und diese kann keiner äusseren gesetzlichen Kritik unterliegen, sondern sie offenbart sich in einem inneren geistigen Zeugnis. Sogar ein ökumenisches Konzil hat keine absolute äussere Autorität, diese findet man allein in der Kirche als geschlossener Einheit, wie sich dies im Verlauf der Geschichte zeigt.

Die Orthodoxie ist ferner kosmischer als das Christentum des Westens, das einen anthropologischen und sozialen Charakter hat. In ihr wird die ganze Welt durch den Heiligen Geist umgewandelt. Dies hat eine starke Einwirkung auf ihre Auffassung von der Erlösung, die sie nicht als rechtmässige Rechtfertigung, als die Lösung einer Rechtsfrage zwischen Gott und Mensch ansieht, sondern vielmehr als die Offenbarung eines neuen Menschen. Durch die Seligsprechung wird der Mensch zu göttlicher Höhe erhoben. So liegt nach der Auffassung der orthodoxen Gläubigen der Höhepunkt des Christentums in der Auferstehung; Ostern ist das Hauptfest des ganzen Kirchenjahres. Während die katholische Kirche mit Nachdruck auf den Gekreuzigten hinweist, bedeutet der Auferstandene Christus für die orthodoxe Kirche viel mehr. Das Mysterium der Aufer-

stehung ist das letzte Geheimnis. Und vor allem ist der Gedanke der Seligsprechung des Universums in der orthodoxen Anschauung immer von grösster Bedeutung gewesen, sie betrifft nicht nur das Individuum sondern die ganze christliche Gemeinde. Die meisten Kirchenväter der östlichen Kirche haben die Lehre der Erneuerung und der Erlösung des Universums gepredigt, und dies ist noch heute, nicht nur für die Theologen, sondern für die ganze russische Mentalität charakteristisch. Die göttliche Liebe ist dem orthodoxen Empfinden immer näher gewesen als das göttliche Gericht.

Schliesslich finden wir in der Eschatologie ein wichtiges Element der Orthodoxie. Die Erwartung einer zweiten Wiederkehr Christi, einer neuen Auferstehung hat immer eine wichtige Rolle gespielt. Daher findet man im Vergleich zu westlichen Religionen ein verhältnismässig geringes Interesse und sich Klammern am irdischen Leben. Durch das Streben, das Reich Gottes schon hier auf Erden zu verwirklichen, hat der Westen den Blick für das eschatologische Mysterium verloren; die Orthodoxie, die weniger weltlich aktiv ist, hat sich diesen bewahrt. Sie sieht das Reich Gottes nicht in einer allmählichen irdischen Entwicklung sondern in einer geheimnisvollen Umgestaltung der Welt. Die Orthodoxie kann nur durch das Leben der Kirche und das ihrer Gläubigen sich offenbaren; kein Studium ihrer Theologie wird ihren wahren Charakter enthüllen. Doch muss sie ihre Abgeschlossenheit aufgeben und muss versuchen, in Kontakt mit dem westl. Christentum zu kommen und dies zu verstehen lernen. Und gerade in dem Bestreben nach einer christlichen Einigkeit kann die Orthodoxie eine wichtige Rolle spielen.

Résumé.

L'Eglise orthodoxe est peu connue en Occident. Elle n'a jamais occupé dans le monde une place aussi importante que le Catholicisme ou le Protestantisme. Elle s'est tenue à l'écart des grandes controverses religieuses et du mouvement général du progrès historique actuel, par cette raison même, qu'elle a conservé dans son culte la plus pure, les vérités de la tradition chrétienne. L'Eglise Orthodoxe est avant tout une Eglise de tradition, elle ne cherche ni à créer ni à détruire, elle se purifie et elle est la gardienne d'un trésor d'expérience spirituelle, en vertu duquel elle individualise ses membres par rapport au Corps physique du Christ, la communion des saints. L'importance de l'Eglise Orthodoxe réside moins dans son organisation extérieure que dans sa vie et son expérience spirituelles; elle a peu de règles fixes. Ce caractère nettement spirituel a eu, comme contre-partie, une certaine faiblesse extérieure, une passivité qui a rendu l'Eglise Orthodoxe incapable d'exprimer dans la vie active le contenu de ses enseignements. En ceci, comme par son indifférence à l'action, elle s'est montrée plus orientale qu'occidentale.

L'Orthodoxie n'a jamais traversé une période de définition intellectuelle, comme l'a fait l'Eglise d'Occident à l'époque de la théologie scolastique; elle n'a jamais été édifiée en un système rationnel construit selon les catégories de la philosophie grecque. Elle est donc moins intellectuelle et plus mystique que le Christianisme occidental; ses dogmes sont moins rigides. Ses préoccupations principales ont toujours été d'ordre ontologique, son intérêt s'est toujours concentré sur les problèmes essentiels de l'existence. En Occident, au contraire, la pensée intellectuelle et critique

s'est peu à peu écartée de ces problèmes fondamentaux pour s'attacher aux découvertes scientifiques, au détriment de l'unité organique de la pensée et de ses relations avec la vie. De là sont nés l'intellectualisme, le rationalisme, l'empirisme et le pragmatisme qui caractérisent la mentalité occidentale.

La religion orthodoxe est avant tout la religion du Saint-Esprit; son but est de transfigurer la vie du monde selon l'esprit de la Sainte Trinité, et surtout par la présence du Saint-Esprit. Il est souvent fait allusion dans l'Eglise orthodoxe à l'attente d'une nouvelle diffusion du Saint-Esprit dans le monde; c'est pourquoi la religion orthodoxe, quoique plus conservatrice et plus strictement traditionnelle que le catholicisme et le protestantisme, a toujours conservé de mystérieuses possibilités de renouvellement religieux.

Si la religion orthodoxe fait très nettement la distinction entre la Divinité et la Nature, entre le Royaume de Dieu et le Royaume de César, cela n'implique aucun système dualiste, mais au contraire la croyance à la transfusion de l'Energie Divine dans toute la création; c'est ce que nous entendons quand nous parlons de l'action du Saint-Esprit. La conception du naturel et du surnaturel et de la Grâce médiatrice entre ces éléments différents et opposés, telle qu'on la rencontre chez Saint Thomas d'Aquin, semble trop rigide et trop légaliste à l'Eglise orthodoxe. Elle considère plutôt la Grâce comme l'action de l'Energie Divine en œuvre dans la nature, comme la transfiguration spirituelle des créatures. C'est cette prédominance des principes du Nouveau Testament sur ceux de l'Ancien Testament qui fait de la religion orthodoxe la forme la moins législative du Christianisme. Elle est plus juridique que juridique; elle instruit les hommes moins par des règles morales qu'en leur montrant l'exemple de vies transfigurées, les vies des Saints, et en encourageant le culte de la sainteté.

Le trait caractéristique de la religion orthodoxe est la liberté; c'est par là qu'elle se distingue le plus nettement du catholicisme. D'autre part, sa conception de la liberté n'est pas celle du protestantisme, qui conduit à l'autonomie individuelle; la religion orthodoxe considère plutôt l'individu comme faisant partie d'un tout collectif, d'un organisme spirituel, le Corps du Christ, qui est l'Eglise. Mais l'autonomie de l'Eglise n'est pas quelque chose qui s'impose du dehors, restant extérieur à l'individu; la conscience individuelle se révèle dans la conscience même de l'Eglise, dont la vie sans cela serait impossible. Bien que l'Eglise orthodoxe ait toujours été plus asservie à l'Etat que l'Eglise catholique, elle tient cependant d'une plus grande liberté intérieure. Son autorité n'a pas de base légale, elle est fondée sur la manifestation en elle de l'Esprit Saint qui ne peut être soumise à aucun critère juridique extérieur; elle se révèle par un témoignage spirituel intérieur. La Conscience ecclésiastique lui-même ne possède pas d'autorité infallible extérieure; celle-ci n'appartient qu'à l'Eglise dans son ensemble et considérée dans le cours entier de sa vie historique.

La religion orthodoxe est plus cosmique que le Christianisme occidental, qui a un caractère anthropologique et social. Dans la religion orthodoxe, la création entière est transfigurée par le Saint-Esprit. Ceci influe sur sa conception de la Rédemption, qu'elle ne considère pas comme une justification juridique, comme le règlement d'un procès entre Dieu et les hommes, mais plutôt comme la révélation d'un nouveau mode de l'être, d'une nouvelle humanité. Le Salut, c'est l'élévation de l'homme à un niveau divin. Et la Résurrection devient aussi dans l'Orthodoxie le

moment culminant du Christianisme, et la fête de Pâques est la fête centrale de l'année. Tandis que l'Eglise catholique romaine s'attache à présenter le Christ crucifié, l'Eglise orthodoxe présente de préférence le Christ ressuscité. Le mystère de la Résurrection est l'ultime mystère. C'est surtout dans l'Eglise orthodoxe que l'idée du salut universel a prévalu. Le salut n'est pas seulement individuel, il est commun à tous les Chrétiens ; la plupart des Pères de l'Eglise d'Orient ont proclamé la doctrine de la régénération et du salut universel et c'est ce qui caractérise non seulement la théologie officielle, mais la mentalité russe tout entière. L'Amour Divin a toujours été plus présent à la conscience orthodoxe que la Justice Divine.

Enfin, l'un des éléments essentiels de la religion orthodoxe est son eschatologie. L'attente d'une seconde venue du Christ et d'une future résurrection y a toujours joué un rôle important. De là, en comparaison avec le Christianisme occidental, son peu d'attachement et d'intérêt pour la vie terrestre. Dans son effort pour réaliser le Royaume de Dieu sur la terre, l'Occident tend à perdre de vue le mystère eschatologique ; l'Orthodoxie, moins active dans l'histoire, a su préserver cette valeur. Elle voit, dans le Royaume du Ciel, non le résultat d'une évolution historique progressive, mais une mystérieuse transfiguration du monde. L'Orthodoxie ne peut être vraiment connue que par la vie de son Eglise et par celle de ses membres ; aucune étude de sa théologie ne révélera son véritable caractère. Mais l'Orthodoxie devra perdre quelque chose de son exclusivisme ; elle devra entrer en contact avec le Christianisme occidental et apprendre à l'apprécier. L'Eglise orthodoxe peut avoir un rôle important à jouer dans le mouvement qui tend vers l'unité chrétienne.

Christ in the Catholic Church.

By M. D. PETRE.

The purpose of this article is, of course, in no sense controversial ; such a purpose would be as unsuited to the organ of the Student Christian Movement as it is innately uncongenial to the mind of the writer. Its object is expressed in the words of the title ; it is an endeavour to indicate what are the characteristics of faith in Christ as shown in the doctrine, the worship, the prayer, the practice of the Roman Catholic Church.

Every Christian body is necessarily inspired by some form of faith in Christ, but the characteristics of that faith are susceptible of considerable variety. What, then, may we regard as the special contribution of the Catholic Church to the general faith of humanity in Christ ? In what manner has she preserved His memory and perpetuated His life ? How far has she proved herself the great custodian of belief in Christ and conformity to His word and example ?

The Two Tables.

In one of the last chapters of the "Imitation of Christ," in the Book that is devoted to the Sacrament of the Eucharist, we read the following words :

"Whilst I am detained in the prison of the body, I acknowledge myself to stand in need of two things, namely, food and light. Unto me then, thus weak and helpless, Thou hast given Thy Sacred Body, for the refreshment both of my soul and body, and Thy word Thou hast set as a light to my feet..... These also may be called the two Tables.... One Table is that of the Sacred Altar, having the holy bread, that is the precious Body of Christ ; the other is that of the Divine Law, containing holy doctrine, teaching men the right faith, and strongly conducting them forward even to within the veil, where is the Holy of Holies."

To no Christian Body is either of these Tables wholly lacking, yet in some Christian communities, of the more definitely Protestant and Evangelical type, the Table of the Word possesses so great a pre-eminence as almost to obscure the Table of the Altar.

Now it is, I would maintain, above all in virtue of her sacra-

mental system that the Catholic Church has preserved the life of Christ in the souls of mankind, though not in virtue of that alone. Christ has been for her the living centre of religious life, the living object of prayer and worship, and this He has been to her by reason of her belief in His Divinity, and her belief in his abiding presence and action by means of her sacramental system. These are her two Tables; the Table of Doctrine, on which are engraved the words that "Christ is God;" the table of the Eucharist, on which He is adored as present to the souls of His worshippers; present for them, present in them, God and Man.

Commemoration — or Communion ?

Some of my readers may remember a novel that caused considerable stir in the last years of the nineteenth century — "Robert Elsemere" by Mrs. Humphrey Ward. In that story the man who has passed from belief in the Divinity of Christ to a respectful recognition of His great, but long past, action and influence, teaches his followers to make constant commemoration of Him — "This do in remembrance of me," and the response is "Jesus, we remember Thee always."

Remembrance — commemoration. We remember Caesar and Bonaparte; Socrates and Augustine; we remember the great liberators of mankind, the great philanthropists, the great religious leaders of humanity. Their deeds may still inspire us; their words may still be with us; but they themselves? Can we say that they are there? Are they present? Are they living? (I mean living here and now and with us; not living another life which we do not yet enjoy).

The most loving veneration of the dead is lacking in actuality save in so far as we feel them yet living and present; it is a burning desire for their actual presence which inspires the passionate efforts of Spiritualism.

We cannot communicate with a simple memory; nor can we adore a man, however holy, who is now dead. Hence Christianity becomes a ghostly religion, or merely an ethical code, unless it be inspired throughout by faith in the living presence of Christ; and can such belief in His presence exist, or be maintained, without belief in His Divinity? The adoration of a memory is lacking in reality save in so far as that memory presents to us something yet living and divine. It is here that the religion of Positivism has ever seemed to me to fall short of the essential

requirements of religious life and worship ; it is a worship of the past, and not of the living present.

It may be urged that the doctrine of the Communion of Saints introduces the worship of beings holy but not divine. But, without going into a theological examination of this doctrine, it may be said at once that no worship of saints implies faith in their omnipresence nor their actual presence to the mind and soul of the worshipper ; it is in and through God that we know them and they know us. We may be, we probably are, working towards a fuller conception of the unity of life, of the interconnection of souls ; and such a more developed conception may, eventually, greatly enlarge our understanding of the doctrine of the communion of saints. None the less is such worship distinguishable from the direct worship of God as omnipresent and actually present, to the soul of the worshipper ; and only in virtue of the belief in Christ as divine can He be to us a living object of adoration, a direct object of address.

The Sacramental System.

To return, then, to a definite consideration of the subject of this article, and to the theme that was originally proposed to me — I was asked to say, as well as I could, what “ a Catholic really finds in his Church as regards her power of bringing closer to him the central figure of Christianity. ”

I should reply that she has distinguished herself by the persistent maintenance of those two Tables of which we have spoken — the Table of the Word — the Table of the Altar, but that her peculiar distinction has consisted in the maintenance of the Table of the Altar, and that it has been, above all, by her Eucharistic doctrine that she has preserved the living value of Christ, and His presence in the hearts of the faithful.

This living belief in Christ can be, has indeed been preserved with a much less vigorous sacramental system ; we have examples of it in other Churches, and in other religious bodies that do not term themselves Churches.

We have those to whom Christ is vividly present in virtue of His Gospel. We have the shining examples of men like Bunyan, like Wesley ; and we have the existing Nonconformist bodies with their insistence on the doctrine of the atonement, and yet their repudiation of what Roman Catholics most treasure in the sacramental system. They have succeeded in their own way ;

but the chief way of Catholicism has been by means of her sacraments; through them it is that she has maintained the century long daily intercourse of the soul with Christ.

All Churches have a sacramental system; but the Catholic conception of sacraments is surely distinct from the others; and above all is the Catholic conception of the Eucharist different in doctrine and usage from that of other Churches.

To put it in a few words, it is the doctrine of the Real Presence that has shaped and inspired the religious attitude of Catholicism in regard to Christ.

This article, as I have said, is not controversial, and I am not out to define or prove the doctrine of the Real Presence, but what I want to show is the distinctive quality of the relation of the human soul to Christ which springs from the Catholic teaching on this point. What I am trying to indicate is the profound difference between a cult of commemoration and a cult of adoration and direct communion. "Do this in remembrance of Me;" those words may be taken in a purely commemorative sense. But for the Catholic Church they are not purely commemorative, but are the sequel of those other words "This is my Body — this is my Blood," in which she calls down the living presence of Christ upon the Altar before summoning the faithful to partake of that presence.

The Catholic is not satisfied with the remembrance of Christ, he must worship Him; he is not satisfied with talking of Him, he must speak to Him.

•• If large sections of other Churches have, of late, come once more closer to the teaching and practice of the Catholic Church, it is, I believe, to a great extent her Eucharistic doctrine that has drawn them. They have sought the living presence of Christ, as in the doctrine of His Divinity, so in that of His real presence in the sacraments; they have hungered for Christ, the Bread of Life.

The Mission of the Catholic Church.

The Roman Catholic Church has alas! proved hard and inaccessible; she has been as intransigent in regard to science and criticism as she has been ruthlessly exclusive in her treatment of other religious bodies. She has been the great preserver of the life and teaching of Christ, but she has regarded Him too much as her special possession; she has been tenacious of theological positions, over-protective in her care for her children;

over-insistent on the letter, not sufficiently confident in the spirit. These faults are to be set against her claim to gratitude for her fidelity to her Master and her faithful preservation of the sacramental system.

But she, who has been the most intransigent in her treatment of modern thought, could actually have afforded to be the least so; because, according to her true teaching, the past is secondary to the present, and history to spiritual reality.

As Father Tyrrell wrote, shortly before his death:

"Apart from isolated tests, there was the broad fact that Jesus seemed to call men less to His teaching than to Himself as the embodiment of the life and truth that he taught; that He made personal love and devotion to Himself the equivalent to salvation and the righteousness it involves. This was implicitly to take God's place in relation to the soul — the place which Jesus has actually taken for Christians — a place which no other religious teacher, neither Moses, nor the Buddha, nor Mahomet has ever claimed or received¹...

"Criticism can tell against the monophysite Christ, that so many soi-disant orthodox are defending, or against certain deductions *ex congruo* of Athanasian Christology, but against the substance of that Christology it can do nothing"².

For her lack of trust in the inevitable achievements of human thought; for her lack of comprehension and charity in regard to other religious bodies, the Roman Catholic Church has suffered in herself as in some of the noblest of her children, and she has suffered in her mission to mankind. None the less does the great fact remain that she has been, by means of her sacramental system, the great preserver of the life of Christ in the human soul, and that other churches owe much to her fidelity.

At the foot of her altars, in front of her sacred tables, the soul has breathed forth acts of love and abandonment that "the tongue cannot utter; " has apprehended truths that "the letter cannot express; " has partaken of such fulness of life and joy as is only known to those who have experienced what it is to love Jesus.

Nec lingua valet dicere,
Nec litera exprimere
Expertus potest credere,
Quid sit Jesum diligere.

¹ (Hibbert Supplement, 1909)

² *Idem*.

The New Reformation.

By JULIO NAVARRO MONZO.

The editors of the "Student World" have asked me to write on a subject of such present interest as the New Reformation, of which so much has been said in recent years, and which is seen to be coming by so many everywhere as surely and unavoidably as the new world civilisation that has been surging up since the European War from the closer contact of East and West.

I do not know why, instead of coming to me, they did not rather address themselves to more authoritative pens. For example, Charles A. Ellwood, the well-known North American sociologist. In his great work "The Reconstruction of Religion" it was he who said, and not I, "A New Reformation is necessary within the Christian Church, if it is to survive, beside which the Protestant Reformation will seem insignificant."

The Inevitability of the New Reformation.

If there is a reason for asking me, it must be found in the statements I made some years ago in my study entitled "The Religious Problem in Latin American Culture." I there said that, the Latin countries having had the enormous misfortune of remaining aloof from the Reformation of the sixteenth century, it was now too late to think of their being converted to Protestantism. When the very countries most profoundly influenced by that movement are feeling the need of a New Reformation, the best thing for the Latin countries to do is to seek for themselves their own Reformation, a Reformation that meets the social and intellectual needs of the man of the twentieth century, in place of servilely accepting the fruits of that carried out by the peoples of the North four hundred years ago.

But the editors of the "Student World," having in view the coming meeting of the World's Student Christian Federation in India, do not ask me to write regarding the religious problems of South America. They wish me to state purely and simply what I think of the New Reformation as a present world-wide need, and, since I am a believer in it, to give the reason for my position.

If I am to be reasonably brief, I think it best not to lose time and take up space treating of the need, to me self-evident, of

a new reformation in Christendom, but rather to take up at once its certain and inevitable character, to which I referred at the beginning. Unless Christianity is to disappear, the New Reformation is not a possibility which each can accept or reject according to his individual inclination or as he may see fit. The New Reformation is *a fact*. It is something already on the march, already upon us, although there are thousands of Christians who do not know it, and other thousands who prefer to cover their eyes and stop their ears so as not to perceive it.

The Movement results from five causes which some may consider regrettable if they like, but which, regrettable or not, are so sure, so patent, in fact, that nobody, however much he may dispute them, finds himself able to deny their existence.

1. *Our idea of God has changed.*

There are, naturally, in the modern world a great many people who still hold a conception of God identical with that found in books like Exodus and Leviticus, just as there are millions of henotheists, of polytheists, or those who worship the dead, or spirits or animals. There are on the other hand, especially among the educated, thousands who simply do not believe in God at all. Between these positions stand those with the religious mentality of the modern man for whom God is not, and cannot be, a monarch, vain and capricious, distributing favours to those who flatter him and hating those who forget him.

Such a conception of God presented problems treated in the book of Job and those to which the Prophet Habakkuk alludes. "Why do the innocent suffer? Why do the wicked prosper?" There is not a single mother who, having seen her little child die, has not asked herself these questions, not an honest man broken by the perfidy of a rascal who has not struggled with the same problem. But confronted by the pessimistic view of life which modern biology has brought us, with its inflexible laws of struggle and the survival of the fittest, the question has taken on a new interest. Is there a place for God in the midst of an inexorable struggle that makes of the earth a battle ground? Can one believe in Providence in the presence of volcanic eruptions and earthquakes that wipe out whole populations who, like the men killed by the falling tower of Siloam, were certainly not worse than the rest of the inhabitants of Jerusalem?

The answer to this tremendous question has been given us by such authorities as Samuel Butler, Bergson, Eucken, Driesch,

but their reply is not evidently that which Jehovah gave Job and his friends, nor is it in accord with the famous illustration of St. Paul when he compares God to a potter and man to his vessel.

God as the Will of Righteousness.

In the bosom of nature which, as Paul himself said, seems to be suffering travail, seeking to bring forth forms of life increasingly beautiful, ever more perfect, can be surely discerned a purpose and a divine will. This will, which "makes the sun to rise on the just and unjust" is without doubt good and paternal, as Jesus taught. But more surely still, it is not the God omnipotent, despotic and terrible, spoken of in the old books of the Hebrews, and about whom the Scholastic and Calvinistic theologians held so much discussion. It is a Will of Righteousness, an endeavour which seeks to create, with man and through him, cultural values, spiritual values, holiness. But it is not a magnificent monarch, seated on a throne, complacently pleased with the smoke of burning sacrifices, or prayers full of the adulation of vassals. It is surely our Father, since we all carry within us that same yearning for triumphant righteousness which characterises Him, that divine seed which reveals itself in us as an anxious reaching out for truth, for beauty, for goodness, proving us to be "His offspring." But He is a Father who needs His children just as they need Him. He is a God who agonises and suffers with the suffering, and because of the suffering of humanity, who has need of His sons to cooperate in His work and undertake to help Him establish His Kingdom, in order that His will may be done on earth as it is in Heaven.

2. Our Conception of Prayer has changed.

This is an inevitable consequence of the change in our idea of God, even though many of those who have modified their conception of the Godhead have not yet changed their notions with regard to prayer.

Formed in the luxurious atmosphere of the Byzantine world, the Roman Catholic liturgy venerates God as the courtiers of the Lower Empire worshipped Caesar. The belief is that He takes pleasure in hearing songs of praise, breathing incense, receiving honours on certain days and fixed hours. Even the Churches of the Reformation, which greatly simplified some parts of the

Catholic liturgy and suppressed others completely, have not entirely freed themselves from the erroneous conception that, for me, it is impossible to reconcile with the fundamental teaching of Jesus regarding the paternal character of God. They sing hymns to Him, they intone to Him the Psalms.

The Voice of the Spirit.

All this, if it be clothed in forms of beauty, has undoubtedly a stimulating influence on the human spirit, such as art always exercises. Nevertheless, I believe that it cannot endure if God is conceived, not as a monarch worshipped with all the formality and pomp of a royal court, but as an immanent force in the universe and in each one of us, a Will that strives to urge us toward perfection.

If "in Him we live and move and have our being" the best that a man can do is to give ear through introspection to that small, inner voice which speaks to his conscience. The best forms of prayer are those of which the Spanish mystics speak, and in general all the mystics, with the title of "Inner Prayer." They are *mental prayer* or meditation, *prayer of quiet* or recollection, and *prayer of union* or adoration and intimate communion with God. In place of trying to honour Him with the roll of organs, the smoke of incense and voices of choirs, Christians in general would do better, in my judgment, to imitate the Quakers and meet in silence free from external clamour, and in the calm of interior recollection in order to hear the voice of the Spirit. "The Godhead is near to each one of us, willing to be heard by all who keep silent to listen;" said Socrates, twenty-four centuries ago.

3. *Our Conception of the Bible has changed.*

Herbert Spencer says in his autobiography that in his youth, while looking one night at the immensity of the starry heavens, he was struck suddenly by the contrast between that magnificence and the idea that the author of it all should have made, 4,200 years before, a contract with a Mesopotamian shepherd, in order thus to assure Himself of a people that should offer Him sacrifices. Since Herbert Spencer wrote those lines, the knowledge of religions has greatly progressed. To-day we know that if Abraham is not a mythical figure, he never thought of offering sacrifices

to the Spirit which manifests itself in the magnitude of the heavens, but rather to one of the many *djinn*, one of the many tribal *numena* of the Semitic peoples. We know that Jahveh was nothing more than one of those *numena* and that only slowly and by the process of the exclusion of other gods, did the people of Israel, after the great trial of captivity, arrive at the monotheistic conception, identifying their tribal god with the *only* God, "He who made the heavens and the earth." We know that neither Genesis nor Exodus should be considered as historical narratives and that if the whole Old Testament is worth anything at all, if in some parts it has an appreciable value, it is because it contains the record of the religious experience of men like Amos, Micah, Isaiah, Jeremiah, who, having saturated the worship of Jahveh with a moral content, made of Judaism the universal religion whose finest flower was Jesus.

A Record of Religious Experience.

Jewish sacerdotalism no longer interests us. We see nothing of value in its nauseating holocausts and its bloody sacrifices, in that "Deaf and Dumb Temple, the object of shame for all men" as it was called in the fourth of the Sibylline Books. In this we seem like those "very virtuous Jews, who, having penetrated to the spirit of the Law, have not continued chained to the surface," of whom Eusebius speaks in his invaluable work "Evangelic Demonstration and Preparation." We have good reason for believing that Jesus, our Master, belonged to that number, the number of those to whom Eusebius refers and who had expressed themselves in such a manner regarding the Temple. We have excellent reasons for thinking that if the Sermon on the Mount is the flower whose roots must be sought for in Amos and Isaiah, the greater number of the prescriptions laid down in Exodus and Leviticus and even in Deuteronomy, constitute a dead weight from which we should, as soon as possible, free our minds and our religious traditions.

But if this be so, if we cannot and should not consider all the Bible "The word of God" unerring and infallible, we find ourselves in a better position for appreciating with serenity the value and significance of the sacred books of other religions anterior to Christianity.

They also, like our Bible, contain much mythical and unacceptable material, but also, like our Bible, there is found

in them a positive contribution to the religious evolution of humanity. Men like Dr. J.N. Farquhar have dedicated their lives to the discovery of those truths, and I think that their labour cannot be lost. The moment must come in which the East and the West together will recognise the fact that while Amos, Hosea, Isaiah and Jeremiah prepared the people of Israel to receive the message of Christ, there are in the history of Asia men like Confucius and Zoroaster who performed the same service in the plan of God. To-day no thoughtful and educated man will deny the truth stated centuries ago by St. Ireneus and Clement of Alexandria, that Heraklitus, Socrates, Plato and the Stoics (whose ideas so much influenced St. Paul) prepared Greek thought for receiving the Christian message. There is a strange affinity between the *Hymn to Zeus* by Cleanthes which says "for all are thine offspring" and the Sermon on the Mount when it teaches that we are all children of the Heavenly Father. If such similarities between Christianity and the deepest of Asiatic thought have not been generally recognised it is simply because the West has as much to learn from the East as the latter from the former.

There is a "light that lighteth every man" and I see the day coming when this will be universally recognised. Men of the East and of the West will come, each with his respective traditions, to take their places under the banner of Christ, crown and synthesis of all that is dynamic, noble and pure in the religious thought of all the ages past.

4. *Our conception of the Church has changed.*

With the exception of figures like Sebastian Franck and Gaspar Schwenkfeld, the men of the Reformation in general did not break away from the idea of the Church that predominated and predominates still in Catholicism. They believed that the Church of Rome had deviated from the pure traditions of the primitive Church, and they tried to reform her by returning to what they supposed to be true Christianity. Inspired by the reading of the New Testament and also, unfortunately, by that of the Old, their purpose was no other than that of rectifying the work of the Middle Ages. The Holy Fathers themselves down to St. Augustine, merited, and continue to merit, almost as much respect as the writings rightly or wrongly attributed to Paul, Peter, James, John and Jude.

To-day, on the other hand, a more attentive study and a more

acute criticism of the New Testament have led us to see that the unity and the purity of the Primitive Church is a myth. From the earliest days the Christian community was never united. In the New Testament we see Jewish Christians full of ritualistic preoccupations, such as those of the conventicle of Jerusalem, with James at its head, and liberal, broadminded Jews like Paul who, without having been a direct disciple of Jesus, yet comprehends His spirit better than those who had followed Him from the very first days. We see also Hellenic Christians like the authors of the Epistle to the Hebrews and of the Fourth Gospel, and Christians who represent Jewish thought with all its eschatological problems, such as the authors of the Epistle ascribed to James, and of the Revelation. Which of these currents — and one might mention even others — represents the early Church, primitive Christianity ? But there is something more still to be said. Is it certain that Jesus had in mind the founding of a Church ? Did His lips ever pronounce the word *ekklesia*, by which the Greeks designated their popular assemblies ?

The Invisible Church.

The story of the famous scene in Caesarea Philippi as it appears in Matthew seems more than doubtful. Neither Mark nor Luke mention the matter of corner-stones or of power conferred on Peter to open and shut the gates of Heaven. The late narrative of John, according to which after the resurrection Jesus grants the same power to *all* the apostles, far from confirming Matthew, has all the appearance of rectifying him. Considering the whole matter well it seems much more probable that Jesus who challenges, whip in hand, the sacerdotalism of Jerusalem, never thought of creating a new theocracy, a new sacerdotalism. If the latter, in spite of all the efforts of Montanus, took root in the course of the second century, it is merely because, in contact with the esoteric cults that swarmed in the Hellenic atmosphere, Christianity was infected with the sacerdotalism of the Mysteries. It has nothing to do with the teaching which Matthew summarised in the Sermon on the Mount and which, scattered through Luke, shows us Jesus, as already said, rather an exponent of the anti-legalist and anti-sacerdotal currents which predominated at the fringe of the Hebrew world, among the Jews of the dispersion, of whom the Galilean practically was a part.

In a word, all goes to show that in this, as in many other things, the Reformation of the sixteenth century stopped half-way ; that the Reformation, as Vinet says, " is still in the making ; " that the right road was indicated by men like Franck, Schwenkfeld, Fox, for whom the Church is not an ecclesiastical organisation, but an invisible spiritual stream, composed of those who find themselves united with Christ in spirit and life. The Church lacks all external forms. It cannot be said, Lo, here it is ! Or, Lo, there it is ! Those make up the Church who participate in the divine life, and only God Himself knows His own.

5. *Our conception of Christ has changed.*

To-day it does not interest us in the least to know whether Christ was or was not a fulfilment of the Messianic teachings, which after the captivity in Babylon, and particularly during the persecution under Antiochus Epiphanes, so much occupied the attention of the Jews. For us it is a regrettable fact that the Synoptic Gospels and in particular Matthew, give so much time to a forcing of the texts of the Old Testament in order to prove that Jesus was the Christ. Less still does it interest us that under Persian influence and a wrong Greek translation of the texts of Isaiah, both Matthew and Luke tried to prove to us that in Jesus was fulfilled the prophecy of Avesta, foretelling that after Zoroaster there would come another saviour born like him of a virgin. The introduction of the visit of the Wise Men to Bethlehem, which has no other object than to confirm that prophecy, seems to us simply deplorable, because it serves no other purpose than to cast the shadow of doubt on the whole Gospel narrative, giving grounds for the position of Couchoud and other supporters of the non-historical character of Jesus.

Jesus as Revealer of God.

That which does interest us in Jesus is His sense of absolute filial relation with God. That, having taught us that God is our father — not our owner and less still our maker — He lived entirely in accord with that doctrine of the divine fatherhood, in an absolute surrender which is sketched in His first visit to the Temple, confirmed at the Jordan, perfected after his return from Phoenicia and completed in Gethsemane and on the Cross.

Jesus is the highest expression of the supreme triumph of

that Will which, through the laborious process of cosmic, biological and social evolution, endeavours to express Itself in man, and through him, as a spiritual force, creator of moral values. Jesus is the model man, the perfect man, because He is the perfect incarnation of the divine in man, or, in other terms, the absolute saturation of man with the divine. When the Fourth Gospel, taking from Heraklitus, Plato and the Stoics a conception highly philosophical, tells us that the Word, the Divine intelligence, the Universal Reason, became flesh in Jesus, we can do no other than recognise that this is the truth.

The Meaning of the Cross.

Jesus is the ideal man, and therefore the ideal for man. Unable to conceive of the Heavenly Father that He revealed to us so admirably in the parable of the Prodigal Son, as a cruel and inexorable God who takes pleasure in human sacrifice and suffering, we cannot consider Jesus as an expiatory victim, the Lamb of God, who by His blood washes away the sins of the world. We well know that without His supreme sacrifice on the Cross, preferring to die rather than to be disloyal to Truth, Jesus would not have conquered the world for His teachings. Our hearts overflow with gratitude before such sacrifice, which in truth has redeemed us, has saved us, or is redeeming and saving men from their superstitions, ignorance and routine. But to attribute to such sacrifice an expiatory value, the character of a vicarious satisfaction, seems to us incompatible with the whole spirit of the Sermon on the Mount and the parable, already mentioned, of the Prodigal Son. It can only be explained by taking into account the mentality moulded by the terrible concept of God which certain books of the Old Testament paint for us. The Good News which Jesus brought, revealing God to us as a kindly father, could only be accepted by such mentalities, on the assumption that the God of Sinai had become merciful, had changed His character, in virtue of the sacrifice of His only Son, who with His blood had assuaged the divine wrath.

Such an explanation, however, the modern mind, formed by nineteen centuries of Christianity, does not need and cannot accept. The original idea of the cruel sacrifices agreeable to God which already the great prophets and certain psalmists rejected with horror and disdain, is incompatible with the Gospel.

The Essence of Christianity.

In place of the five conceptions which we have abandoned regarding God, Prayer, the Bible, the Church and Christ, what has and in my opinion will always have the greatest importance, what constitutes for modern thought the very essence of Christianity, are the following points which the New Reformation, I believe, is called on to preach and to make triumphant :

a. The universe is the expression of a Divine Will, the manifestation of an endeavour, directed toward the creation not only of forms ever more perfect, but also toward the expression of spiritual values. A will which, through man, endeavours to reveal Itself as a moral principle, to show Its nature, defined by the Johannine writings as Intelligence, Light, Life, Love.

b. Jesus is the supreme culmination of that Force which, endeavouring to express its spiritual nature, tends toward the creation of a morally perfect humanity, what we might call a super-humanity. By His complete identification with the divine, Jesus is the first representative of that spiritual super-humanity, "the first-born among many sons."

c. True to the supreme spiritual values which the word God synthesises or symbolises, Jesus dies on a Cross, and in that supreme sacrifice of the perfect man, the man completely identified with God, we have as it were the crystallisation in time and space of an eternal drama. The Cross is the symbol of creation. It is the expression of the agony of the Spirit, bound to the material and nevertheless trying to reveal Itself therein.

The Eternal in Christ.

d. From the Cross on which Christ suffers, God calls men to love Him who loves them with an eternal love, and, through the indisputable, unerring triumph which Jesus achieved for His teachings by means of the Cross, God gives us an absolute pledge that spiritual values, through all sufferings and martyrdom, shall always win over material values ; that the higher shall always be victorious over the lower.

e. In this way, Jesus is not only a historical fact within the purely human order. He is the revelation of God. His life, His death and His triumph reveal to us, as well as His teachings, the paternal, loving and sacrificial character of the Godhead. It is not only an exemplary life, the most perfect of all human

lives. Jesus is the expression of a cosmic yearning, and His personality, taking on a universal and eternal value, is the channel for divine energy which undertakes to lift humanity. He is the companion of our souls, He is God brought within reach of man.

f. In the light that the divine personality of Christ sheds on us, every human being represents an absolute value, because each one carries within him a divine seed ; longings for conquering moral power, spiritual tendencies ; that is to say, the native capacity to come to know, through the new birth that Jesus taught, that he also is a son of God and, taking Jesus as an example, can conduct himself as He did.

g. In view of such capacities, nothing is of higher value than human life, and nothing in each life has more importance than the development of character through communion with the Divine, which as the life of Christ shows us, assures us the victory of the higher and unselfish sentiments, the triumph of our love of Truth, Beauty and Right, over the lower and selfish instincts which man, left to himself, shares with purely animal natures.

The Intrinsic Value of Personality.

h. The intrinsic value of each human being is independent, therefore, of his position, riches or knowledge. It is measured only by his motives and intentions, by what he is really in his character, in the deepest and most intimate recesses of his inner conscience, and not by his external actions that, being imposed by the compulsion of the environment, may be hardly more than the expression of his cowardice or his Pharisaism.

i. Because of their divine sonship, *all* men, regardless of their beliefs, nationality, race or culture, should be treated as brothers, as sons, which they are, of one and the same Father ; the Father of each one of us, as it was taught us and revealed to us by Jesus.

j. All this must bring about a new order of affairs in the political, social and international realms. The teachings and ideals of Jesus can be fully realised only in a new order of human relations regulated by the spirit of brotherhood, co-operation and mutual helpfulness, ruled by love and good-will, in place of what now holds sway — force and external authority.

k. This new order, the Kingdom of God, will not come, nevertheless, except in the measure that men identify themselves

with Christ and, morally regenerated, ascend from the material to the spiritual plane. It is essential that God become incarnate in the whole human family as He was in Christ. Christ must reign, manifesting Himself anew, fully, triumphantly, in all human-kind, in the super-humanity.

Résumé.

Nous devons d'abord nous rendre nettement compte que la Nouvelle Réformation est un *fait*, bien que beaucoup se refusent à l'admettre. Il est donc inutile de discuter ici jusqu'à quel point elle peut être nécessaire. Depuis quelques années, elle semble de plus en plus inévitable. Ce mouvement de Réforme peut être attribué à cinq causes principales :

1) L'idée que nous nous faisons de Dieu s'est modifiée. Nous avons cessé de croire au Dieu de l'Ancien Testament, au Dieu qui récompense ceux qui le flattent et hait ceux qui l'oublient, au Dieu omnipotent, despotique et terrible. Nos réponses aux formidables problèmes de la souffrance, de la lutte et du malheur ne sont plus celles que nous trouvons dans le Livre de Job. Nous voyons plutôt dans la nature la Volonté Divine à l'œuvre dans l'homme et par l'homme pour le progrès de la justice, ayant besoin des hommes et souffrant avec ceux qui souffrent. Ce Dieu est notre Père, parce qu'il y a en chacun de nous des aspirations vers la beauté et la bonté qui témoignent que nous sommes Ses enfants.

2) Notre conception de la prière a changé. Les vieilles liturgies offrent à Dieu un tribut de prières et de louanges, comme les hommes offrent un tribut à un monarque de la terre ; ils L'adorent comme un roi sur son trône, entouré de toute la pompe d'une cour. Mais, puisque Dieu est en nous-mêmes, nous n'entendrons jamais mieux Sa voix qu'en écoutant celle de notre conscience. Les meilleures formes de la prière sont celles des mystiques, la prière mentale, la prière silencieuse. Il serait bon pour nous tous d'imiter les Quakers et de nous réunir dans le silence et l'adoration et dans le calme du recueillement intérieur.

3) Notre interprétation de la Bible a changé. Nous savons maintenant que c'est seulement par un développement progressif (la première conception de Jéhovah, Dieu national du peuple d'Israël, se transformant en un véritable monothéisme) que le Dieu de l'Ancien Testament est devenu le Dieu des prophètes, dont le culte tout imprégné de sève morale a fait du Judaïsme une religion universelle. Nous avons cessé de considérer l'Ancien Testament comme contenant dans toutes ses parties la parole infaillible de Dieu. Il a pour nous, avant tout, la valeur d'un témoignage de l'expérience religieuse. Et cette attitude nous permet de mieux apprécier les textes sacrés des autres religions et de les considérer comme une contribution à l'évolution religieuse de l'humanité. Confucius et Zoroastre ont rendu à l'Orient les mêmes services qu'Isaïe et Jérémie à l'Occident.

4) Notre conception de l'Eglise s'est modifiée. La Réforme protestante ne s'est pas vraiment détachée de la conception ancienne de l'Eglise. Elle a plutôt tenté de revenir aux traditions de l'Eglise primitive que, selon elle, le catholicisme avait abandonnées.

Mais des Etudes plus approfondies et la critique biblique nous ont démontré que c'est probablement une illusion de croire à l'existence d'une Eglise primitive unique et unie. Il est même douteux que Jésus ait jamais

eu l'intention de fonder une Eglise au sens sacerdotal du mot. Le développement du « sacerdotalisme » a plutôt eu pour cause l'influence des cultes ésotériques et des religions à mystères de l'époque. On peut donc dire que la Réforme protestante a été incomplète; il nous reste à faire encore un pas en avant et à comprendre que l'Eglise n'est pas une institution ecclésiastique mais une invisible communion spirituelle de tous ceux qui, par l'esprit et la vie, sont unis dans le Christ.

5) Notre conception du Christ a changé. Il ne nous importe plus guère de voir dans la venue du Christ l'accomplissement des prédictions messianiques des prophètes juifs. Toute tentative de ce genre pour forcer le sens des textes de l'Ancien Testament nous semble déplorable. Ce qui nous frappe en Jésus, c'est sa relation filiale avec Dieu, réalisée d'une manière absolue dans son enseignement comme dans sa vie. Il est la plus haute expression de la Volonté Divine, la parfaite incarnation du divin dans l'homme, l'homme idéal et l'idéal pour l'homme. Nous avons cessé de voir dans sa mort un sacrifice proprement dit à un Dieu cruel et inexorable afin d'assurer à l'humanité pécheresse le pardon et le pardon. Elle nous semble plutôt le suprême sacrifice d'un cœur fidèle jusqu'à la mort à la vérité et à l'amour, sacrifice capable d'ouvrir tel de nous à la vie et de nous relever de notre bassesse humaine.

Voici donc les principes directeurs de la Nouvelle Réformation : l'univers est l'expression de la Volonté Divine, qui se révèle par la nature morale de l'homme. Jésus est l'expression suprême de cette Volonté, qui s'efforce de créer une humanité moralement parfaite, ce que nous pourrions appeler une « sur-humanité » spirituelle. Le Christ est le symbole des souffrances de l'esprit dans le monde, la croix est élevée dans le temps et dans l'espace d'un drame éternel, et le gage du triomphe final des valeurs spirituelles sur les valeurs matérielles. L'existence de Jésus n'est pas seulement un fait historique, mais une révélation de Dieu; sa personne est une valeur universelle et éternelle, à la lumière de laquelle la personne humaine prend à son tour une valeur absolue, parce qu'elle contient en germe la vie et l'esprit du Christ. Par le sacrifice passionnel que Jésus a prêché, nous devenons les fils de Dieu. La valeur universelle de la personne humaine résulte de la capture de l'homme à communiquer avec la Divinité; c'est une valeur indépendante de la situation, de la richesse, de la connaissance, de la nationalité, de la race et de la culture. La reconnaissance de ce fait entraîne le besoin de voir régner un esprit de fraternité et de coopération dans les relations politiques, sociales et internationales, afin que, dans l'ordre nouveau, le Royaume de Dieu soit établi sur la terre, grâce à la régénération morale et spirituelle des hommes par le Christ. C'est ainsi seulement que pourra naître l'humanité supérieure, la « sur-humanité ».

Das Christentum und die Moderne Gesellschaft

VON PAUL TILLICH.

Die erste Frage, die zu beantworten ist, wenn nach dem Verhältnis von Christentum und moderner Gesellschaft gefragt wird, lautet : Welches ist der Standort, von dem aus die Frage gestellt ist und von dem aus sie beantwortet werden soll ? Diese Frage aber enthüllt sofort die ganze Schwierigkeit des Unternehmens. Wird nämlich gesagt : Vom Standort des Christentums aus, so wird vorausgesetzt, dass man das Christentum zur Verfügung habe als einen Standort, den man jenseits der modernen Gesellschaft einnehmen könne, wenn man nur wolle. Und umgekehrt : Wenn man sagt, vom Standpunkt der modernen Gesellschaft aus, so setzt man voraus, dass dieser Standort neben dem Christentum zu finden sei, wenn man ihn nur suche. Aber beide Voraussetzungen sind falsch : Niemand hat das Christentum ausserhalb der modernen Gesellschaft, in der er lebt, die ihn trägt und formt mit ihrer Sprache, ihren Einrichtungen, ihren Menschen. Und wenn er noch so leidenschaftlich versuchte, sich diesem seinen Mutterboden zu entziehen : Es gelingt nicht, es gelingt in keinem Augenblick. Und wenn er sich ausschliesslich auf die Bibel oder die alte Kirchenlehre gründen wollte, so würde doch unbewusst jedes Wort, das er liest, durch sein eigenes Verstehen und d.h. zuletzt durch Sprache und Leben der modernen Gesellschaft gefärbt sein. Niemand kann sich selbst entziehen. Wir selbst : das ist zum grössten Teil die moderne Gesellschaft, in der wir leben. Es gibt für uns also keinen Standort des Christentums abgesehen von der modernen Gesellschaft. Aber ebensowenig gibt es einen Standort der modernen Gesellschaft abgesehen vom Christentum. Niemand der in der Moderne lebt, kann sich dem Christentum entziehen. In alle Einrichtungen und Sitten, in Sittlichkeit und Geistesleben der modernen Gesellschaft ist das Christentum eingegangen. Man kann profan sein, aber man kann nicht "Heide" sein. Denn "Heide" ist ein religiöser Begriff, und er bezeichnet diejenige religiöse Haltung, die vom Christentum zerbrochen ist, der das Christentum das gute Gewissen genommen, die es als dämonisch offenbart hat. Der Standort der modernen Gesellschaft ist kein Standort ausserhalb des Christentums.

Wenn wir also von dem Verhältnis des Christentums zur modernen Gesellschaft reden, so können wir es immer nur als solche tun, die in beiden stehen, deren Standort der Schnittpunkt beider ist. Wir selbst, die Fragenden und Antwortenden, sind Produkte des Zusammenwirkens beider und niemandem ist es möglich, aus dieser Einheit die verschiedenen Elemente herauszudestillieren. Wir verstehen das Christentum als Glieder der modernen Gesellschaft und wir verstehen die moderne Gesellschaft als vom Christentum geformte. Diese Sachlage bedeutet, dass wir mit der Frage nach dem Verhältnis von Christentum und Gesellschaft eine konkrete Frage stellen, die Frage nach unserer konkreten Existenz. Und sie bedeutet weiter, dass wir die Antwort nicht geben können von einem Standort ausserhalb dieser unserer eigenen Existenz, ausserhalb der Einheit von beiden. Jede Antwort, die hier gegeben werden kann, ist ein Ringen um unsere eigene Lage, ist ein Sprung aus unserer Gegenwart in unsere Zukunft und hat darum den Ernst des Wagnisses. Nicht als akademische Betrachtung, bei der wir aus dem Spiel blieben, sondern als Tat, in der es um uns selbst geht, hat die Frage nach dem Verhältnis des Christentums zur modernen Gesellschaft einen Sinn.

Die Antwort muss notwendig das geistesgeschichtliche Verhältnis beider Grössen berücksichtigen. Sie ist damit eine Weiterführung und Begründung des eben in der Einleitung Gesagten. Der Hintergrund der modernen Gesellschaft in ihrer religiösen Substanz ist das Christentum. Das Christentum überhaupt und das protestantische Christentum im besonderen. Hinter allem Denken und Leben der modernen Gesellschaft steht die jüdischchristliche Ueberwindung des heidnisch-dämonischen Weltgefühls. Der Glaube an die Schöpfung enthält dieses, dass die Materie, auch die irdische, nicht gegengöttlich ist, dass sie als Setzung Gottes vollkommen ist in all ihren Stufen, dass es darum nicht nötig ist, sie zu fliehen, um zu Gott zu kommen. Ein volles Ja fällt von hier auf alle Schöpfung. Das Ja der Renaissance zur Erde, die Aufnahme der Erde in die Welt der Gestirne, die Behauptung dass das Göttliche der Sternwelt nicht näher sei als der Erde, dass es überall ganz gegenwärtig sei, das ist in der Tiefe christlicher Schöpfungsglaube, das steht im Widerspruch zu dem Lebensgefühl der gesamten Antike, theoretisch und praktisch. Und der christliche Monotheismus enthält dieses, dass die Welt nicht von verschiedenen göttlichen Gewalten regiert wird und damit im tiefsten Grunde zerspalten, dämonisch ist, sondern dass sie einen einheitlichen Sinn, einen

einheitlichen Ursprung und ein einheitliches Ziel hat: Das Göttliche ist geistig-sittliche Einheit, und die Welt ist zum Ort ihrer Herrschaft bestimmt. Der Glaube der Renaissance an die Erde als Ort sinnvoller Gestaltung, die Verheissung eines Reiches der Gerechtigkeit und Menschlichkeit, wie sie durch die Utopieen jener Zeit klingt, ist nicht antik, sondern christlich. Und wenn es auch so schien, als wären die alten Götter wiedergekommen, nicht sie selbst kamen wieder, sondern ihre Kraft wurde aufgenommen in den einen, aller dämonischen Zerspaltenheit enthobenen sittlichen Gott. Götter sterben nicht, aber Götter kehren auch nicht wieder. Sie wandeln sich und gehen ein in den wahren Gott. Nicht die Götter der Antike beherrschen die Renaissance und die moderne Gesellschaft, sondern der eine Gott, von dem das Christentum zeugt.

Zu diesem fernerem, oft zu wenig beachteten Hintergrund der modernen Gesellschaft kommt der nähere, viel behandelte protestantische. Erst durch ihn ist die moderne Gesellschaft überhaupt möglich. Dem Protestantismus verdankt sie den Persönlichkeitsgedanken und die Heiligung des täglichen Lebens. Die Religion der Sakramente und der Hierarchie zerbrach vor dem Ansturm des persönlichen mit Gott ringenden Gewissens, dem niemand und nichts, auch keine heilige Wirklichkeit, keine "Gestalt der Gnade" die Verantwortung abnehmen kann. Und alle heiligen Bezirke, alles sakramentale und asketische Werk wird wertlos vor dem täglich geübten Gehorsam. Beides ist übergegangen in die moderne Gesellschaft, und zwar in mannigfachen Formen.

Das Persönlichkeitsideal kann mehr als subjektive Frömmigkeit aufgefasst werden — so im Pietismus und Methodismus — oder mehr als Unterwerfung des Sünders unter Gericht und Gnade — so in der Orthodoxie. Und die Heiligung des Alltäglichen kann mehr eine Heiligung des Bestehenden sein — so auf lutherischem Boden — und mehr eine Heiligung des umgestaltenden Werkes — so auf reformiertem Boden. Immer aber ist es typisch protestantischer Geist, der sich darin auswirkt. Und die moderne Gesellschaft trägt ihn in der einen oder in der anderen Form in sich, ob sie es weiss oder nicht.

Dann freilich: Dieses alles ist Hintergrund. Der Vordergrund aber sieht anders aus. Dieses alles ist die Substanz der modernen Gesellschaft, von der sie bis heute lebt, aber die Form ist es längst nicht mehr. Denn es kommt ein neues Moment hinzu: Die Profanisierung, die Entheiligung, die Verdieesseitigung des religiösen Erbgutes. Die moderne Gesellschaft ist profan.

Ihr Pathos geht auf das Diesseits um des Diesseits willen. Sie ist — wie ich es früher in der "Religiösen Lage der Gegenwart" ausgedrückt habe — "In sich ruhende Endlichkeit". Die religiöse Persönlichkeit beider Formen ist übergegangen in profane Persönlichkeitstypen, humanistische oder romantische; und die Heiligung des täglichen Lebens ist übergegangen in Alltäglichkeit. Das ja zur Schöpfung, zur Erde ist übergegangen in Weltlichkeit und der Wille zur religiösen Weltgestaltung in autonome Politik, Wirtschaft und Technik. Für jedes dieser Dinge lassen sich noch die protestantisch-christlichen Hintergründe aufweisen; aber jedes hat sich zugleich losgerissen von seinem Hintergrund. Die moderne Gesellschaft ist die autonome und profane Entwicklungsstufe der christlich-protestantischen Gesellschaft. Darin liegt Einheit und Gegensatz beschlossen. Darin ist zugleich die völlige Unsicherheit begründet, in der beide zueinander stehen: Ein Hin- und Herschanken zwischen Ja und Nein, zwischen Identifikation und Widerspruch.

Das Christentum kann nicht umhin, in der modernen Gesellschaft sich selbst wiederzuerkennen, zugleich aber in ihr den Ort aller Widersprüche gegen sich zu sehen. Und die moderne Gesellschaft bleibt trotz allen Protestes gegen Bedrohungen ihrer Autonomie durch die Kirchen in pietätvoller Anerkennung der christlichen Substanz als der eigenen. Aus dieser Sachlage ergeben sich die mannigfaltigen Verschlingungen beider Grössen, das ganze reiche Wechselspiel, das zu durchschauen nur von hier aus möglich ist. Während die alte Kirche eine heidnische Gesellschaft in religiösen und profanisierten Formen sich gegenüber hatte, während die mittelalterliche Kirche eine substantiell heidnische, kulturell, christliche Gesellschaft neben sich hatte, steht die moderne Kirche mit einer substantiell christlichen, kulturell profanen Gesellschaft in Einheit und Spannung zugleich (Vergl. Rosenstock und Wittig "Das Alter der Kirche"). Das hat nun ein Doppeltes zur Folge gehabt: Einmal das Aufgehen der Kirchen in den Schöpfungen der profanisierten, modernen Gesellschaft, auf der anderen Seite einen ohnmächtigen Protest gegen die moderne Gesellschaft vom Standort älterer geistiger und gesellschaftlicher Formen aus.

Das historische Schicksal der verschiedenen Ausprägungen des Protestantismus hat zu sehr verschiedenen Lösungen auf dieser allgemeinen Grundlage geführt. Auf lutherischem Boden stand im Vordergrund das Verhältnis zum *geistigen* Leben der modernen Gesellschaft, auf Calvinistischem Boden das Verhältnis zum *sozialen* Leben. In der lutherisch bestimmten Kultur fielen

die Entscheidungen auf philosophischem und literarischem Gebiet, in der calvinistisch bestimmten Kultur auf politischem und sozialem Gebiet. Aber natürlich ist dieser Gegensatz nicht ausschliesslich. Dass im Luthertum die geistige Innerlichkeit in den Vordergrund gedrängt wurde, hing zusammen mit der Struktur der Gesellschaft in den lutherischen Landeskirchen. Dass im Calvinismus die wirtschaftlich-soziale Gestaltung entscheidend wurde, ist mitbegründet in der grundsätzlichen Lösung der geistigen Probleme.

Die Lösung der Erkenntnisfragen ist auf dem Boden der englisch-amerikanischen Kultur grundsätzlich konservativ. Die autonome Wissenschaft und Philosophie steht daneben. Ein Bedürfnis nach Ausgleich fehlt im Grossen und Ganzen. Gott wird an die Grenzen des philosophischen Systems verbannt ohne Einfluss auf das Ganze. Die Ethik wird auf das Prinzip der Nützlichkeit gegründet, lebt aber inhaltlich von Resten des christlichen Ethos, für deren profane Umdeutung der Begriff des Altruismus typisch ist. Umso energischer wird die Umgestaltung der Gesellschaft in Angriff genommen. Die englische Revolution schafft im Namen des Christentums und als Verwirklichung der Gottesherrschaft die bürgerliche Gesellschaft. Alle dämonisch rauschhaften Elemente der Feudalzeit in Religion und Lebensgestaltung werden unterdrückt. Die Bibel wird zum Gesetzbuch der Völker. Auch das Königtum muss sich ihm unterwerfen. Die im Prädestinationsglauben ruhende heroische Persönlichkeit unterwirft sich die Welt, selbst unterworfen dem Gehorsam des göttlichen Gesetzes. Aber Heroismus ist keine Dauerhaltung; sie ist die Möglichkeit einer gesellschaftlichen Schicht in einem historischen Augenblick. Dann geht sie über in Sitte und Gesetz. So entstand die Lebensform der bürgerlichen Gesellschaft. Die religiöse Gestaltung wandelte sich in wirtschaftlich-technische Weltbeherrschung, in Humanität und profane Persönlichkeitsformung. Der religiöse Hintergrund blieb erhalten. Er darf bis heute nicht angetastet werden. Dafür sorgt die Unerschüttertheit in der geistigen und Erkenntnis-Sphäre. Aber man gleitet unmerklich ins Profane, das unausgesprochen um so selbstverständlicher sich durchsetzt. Und mit der Profanisierung kommt die christliche Gestaltung in die Hände der tragenden Mächte der bürgerlichen Gesellschaft, der wirtschaftlichen und der politischen. Einordnung in die Lebensformen des wirtschaftlich herrschenden Bürgertums und Unterordnung unter die politische Einheit des herrschenden angelsächsisch-bürgerlichen Reiches wird gleichgesetzt mit Einordnung in die Theokratie;

und auch das mit umso grösserer Wirksamkeit, als es unbewusst geschieht. Damit aber ist ein Standpunkt möglicher Opposition des Christentums gegen die bürgerliche Gesellschaft verschwunden. Christentum und moderne Gesellschaft sind zur Identität gebracht.

Während also auf dem Erkenntnisgebiet der westliche Protestantismus die autonome Kultur unangetastet neben sich lässt, aber auch seine eigene dogmatische Grundlage unangetastet bewahrt, schafft er im sozialen Gebiet die bürgerliche Gesellschaft, mit der er sich identifiziert. In beiden Haltungen aber ist eine kritische Opposition gegen die moderne Gesellschaft unmöglich geworden.

Auf dem Boden der lutherisch gestimmten Kirchen ist die gesamte geistige Formung unmittelbar durch das Christentum mitbestimmt. In der deutschen Klassik und Romantik geht es letztlich immer um den Gottesgedanken. Das Ringen um eine "theonome" Kultur geht durch die gesamte deutsche Philosophie. Und umgekehrt dringen aus Philosophie und Literatur ständig umgestaltende Kräfte in die Theologie und wandeln alle Symbole der religiösen Erkenntnis. Hier ist die Kampf- und Ausgleichsphäre zwischen Christentum und moderner Gesellschaft. Dabei schien es eine Zeitlang, als ginge das Christentum ein in die so geschaffenen Formen, als käme es zur Identifizierung mit dem Geist des deutschen Idealismus. Aber diese Gefahr wurde grundsätzlich überwunden durch die Katastrophe des Idealismus im 19-Jahrhundert. Dann erhob sich die entgegengesetzte Gefahr: Die Trennung von Religion und Erkenntnis nach Art des westlichen Protestantismus. Seit der Jahrhundertwende ist auch diese Gefahr überwunden. Und wir stehen mitten in einem höchst lebendigen und beiderseitig fruchtbaren Miteinander und Gegeneinander von christlichem und autonomen Geistesleben. Das heimliche Ziel ist dabei auf allen Seiten "Theonomie," d.h. christliche Erfülltheit der autonomen Formen.

Ganz anders in der sozialen und politischen Sphäre. Hier war nicht wie im Westen die aktive revolutionäre Gesellschaft Trägerin der protestantischen Gestaltung sondern das Landesfürstentum. Durch die Lehre vom Landesfürsten als oberstem Bischof wurde diese seine Stellung religiös geweiht. Durch Luthers Lehre von der göttlichen Einsetzung auch der widerchristlichen Obrigkeit wurde jede mögliche Gestaltung im Gegensatz zum Staat verboten. Die protestantischen Kirchen wurden zum Ressort der Staatsverwaltung. Die bürgerliche

Revolution des 19. Jahrhunderts hatte keine religiöse Bedeutung mehr; sie wurde von den Kirchen verneint. Der proletarischen Bewegung gegenüber wurde der Versuch gemacht, sie ins Patriarchalisch-Landesfürstliche umzubiegen und sie gleichzeitig für Christentum und Monarchie zu gewinnen. Als das misslang, wurde sie eben so scharf und noch schärfer bekämpft wie die bürgerliche Revolution, mit deren Auswirkungen man sich inzwischen einigermaßen abgefunden hatte. Immerhin war diese Abfindung keine vollständige. Ein stiller Protest gegen die moderne bürgerliche Gesellschaft blieb immer erhalten. Er ging aus von der kleinbürgerlich-feudalen Struktur der lutherischen Landeskirchen, von der Verbindung des Christentums mit der vorbürgerlichen Gesellschaftsordnung. Als er mit dem Zerbrechen der Monarchie und des Landesfürstentums sich nicht mehr staatlich sichern konnte, verband er sich nach der Revolution mit denjenigen Parteien, in denen die altkonservativen Elemente am deutlichsten bewahrt waren. So entstand die innige, wenn auch offiziell geleugnete Verbindung zwischen lutherischer Kirche und deutschnationaler Partei. Aber der Protest, der von hier gegen die moderne Gesellschaft ergeht, ist ohnmächtig, weil er im Namen einer grundsätzlich überwundenen Gesellschaftsstruktur ergeht. Er kommt nicht aus dem Zentrum des gegenwärtigen sozialen Geschehens. Und infolge der innigen politischen Verbundenheit der konservativen Kreise mit dem wirtschaftlich herrschenden Bürgertum wirkt sich der antibürgerliche Protest ausschliesslich als Kampf gegen die sozialistische Bewegung aus. Es ist fast unmöglich, dass ein Proletarier das antibürgerlich-christliche Element sieht, das im Konservatismus, namentlich jüngerer Geistiger enthalten ist; zu offenkundig ist der entschlossene politische Gegensatz, in den sich die konservativen Parteien gegen ihn stellen. So ist die Wirkung des Christentums auf die politisch-soziale Gestaltung überaus gering. Nur in den Grenzgebieten der bürgerlichen Gesellschaft, im Bauerntum, im mittleren Beamten- und Kleinbürgertum machen sich Wirkungen geltend, die aber überwiegend konservierender Art sind und darum völlig unschöpferisch bleiben. Diese Tatsachen sind nun ihrerseits nicht ohne Wichtigkeit für die geistige Sphäre. Die Gefahr wird immer grösser, dass weite Kreise der evangelischen Kirche einer Ideologie verfallen, die mit der realen Struktur der Gesellschaft nichts mehr zu tun hat. Geistiges Leben, mag es noch so lebendig sein, ist zur Fruchtlosigkeit und Entleerung verurteilt, wenn es nicht aus der wirklichen gesellschaftlichen Lage und den Aufgaben, die sie

stellt, neue Antriebe erhält. Es ist der überaus schwierige Versuch des religiösen Sozialismus, gleichzeitig im Geistigen und Sozialen zu einer Gestaltung der kommenden Gesellschaft zu führen, in der das autonome Leben der Gesellschaft erfüllt ist mit sinngebenden Kräften des Christentums. Ob dieser Versuch Erfolg haben wird, ist bei der Versteifung der Gegensätze und bei dem Wirklichkeitsgewicht der kapitalistisch-bürgerlichen Wirtschaftsordnung höchst fraglich. Unternommen muss er dennoch werden. Er ist — soweit ich sehe — die einzige Bewegung, die das Problem, "Christentum und moderne Gesellschaft" da angreift, wo es angegriffen werden muss, an dem Punkt der schärfsten gesellschaftlichen Spannung, in dem Gegensatz von Bürgertum und Proletariat.

Aber freilich, auch der religiöse Sozialismus, und wenn er viel mächtiger und wirksamer wäre, als er es tatsächlich ist, kann das nicht *machen*, was Voraussetzung eines wirklich lebendigen Verhältnisses von Christentum und moderner Gesellschaft ist: Die anschauliche Gegenwart christlichen "Seins," die Gestalt der Gnade: (Ueber diesen Begriff vergl. Kairos Bd. 2, mein Aufsatz über "Der Protestantismus als kritisches und gestaltendes Prinzip"). Das ist es, was der Katholizismus vor den protestantischen Kirchen voraus hat, dass in ihm eine solche, wenn auch dämonisierte Gestalt der Gnade da ist und sichtbar wirkt. Daher ist sein Verhältnis zur modernen Gesellschaft so viel leichter zu bestimmen. Aber es ist auch weniger tief und weniger fruchtbar. Denn der Katholizismus repräsentiert eine Gestalt der Gnade, die durch den Protestantismus mit nicht zurücknehmbarer historischer Macht in die Vergangenheit gedrängt ist. Von ihm aus ist das Gegenwartsproblem nicht zu lösen. Aber der Blick von ihm auf den Protestantismus zeigt eins: wo eine anschauliche Gestalt der Gnade fehlt, fällt das religiöse Leben den staatlichen und gesellschaftlichen Mächten anheim; es kann der Profanisierung nicht entgehen. Es schwankt zwischen unschöpferischem Protest und naiver Gleichsetzung. Nur wo und nur insoweit eine Gestalt der Gnade anschaulich in der Wirklichkeit steht, nicht erstarrt und nicht herrschaftlich wie im Katholizismus, sondern hinweisend auf das Jenseits der Gesellschaft und zugleich teilnehmend am Ringen der autonomen Kultur, nur da gibt es eine Lösung des Problems "Christentum und moderne Gesellschaft."

Uns ist es also nicht gegeben, eine allgemeine Lösung zu sagen, sondern wir haben die Aufgabe, an jedem einzelnen Punkt um eine neue Gestalt der Gnade zu ringen, die mitten in der modernen

personality has taken on a purely secular, humanistic or romantic form, while the sanctification of daily life has become the apotheosis of the commonplace. The Christian acceptance of the world of creation has become worldliness, and the will to a transformation of society has developed into the autonomous conduct of politics, economics and applied science. Modern society represents Christian-Protestant society in its autonomous and secularised stage of development. Thus it contains within itself both a unity and a conflict.

The early Church was faced by a heathen society clothed in worldly and religious forms; the mediæval Church existed side by side with a society heathen in substance but Christian in form, whilst the modern Church is in a state at once of union and of tension with a society which is Christian in substance but worldly in form. The development of this relationship has varied with the various forms of Protestantism. In Lutheran societies the relation to the intellectual element of modern social life was in the foreground; in Calvinistic countries, the relation to the social element; in the former the one danger to be shunned was philosophy, and in the latter the other; but both were noticed and sought.

In England and America, the ecclesiastical prophecies of Gerson were met with a more cordial reception, while science and philosophy developed independently of their influence, becoming a natural synthesis. The system of Gerson was based on the recognition of unity, but with an inherited Christian faith, which in its development has become "humanism." In England, medieval Christianity is embodied by the Revivalism of the nineteenth century, and in America by a new form of the Kingdom of God. The hierarchical system of the Roman system were suppressed, and the Bible became the law of the people, in which ever the theme was unity. In the United States, the created system has place to the economy, and science, industry, commerce, the idea of humanity, and the universal brotherhood of man are all in the world sense. And with the ever-increasing realization of the unity, the shape of Christianity has more and more into the hands of the common people of bourgeois society. The church is and political, the Church becomes more and more identified with the existing social order, and thus opposed to society on the part of the Church becomes impossible.

In furtherance of this, the contrary, the whole intellectual development was influenced by Christianity. Christianity, Greek and Romanism, became especially concerned with the idea of God, and the struggle for a "Christian" education permeates Christian philosophy. On the other hand, philosophy and science exercise an unrelenting influence on theology and Christian doctrine. For since it seemed as if the world would be dominated by Christianity with Christian ideas, the danger passed with the breakdown of ideas in the nineteenth century. The contrary danger, the separation of religion and knowledge, such as had happened in Christian Europe, has been overcome since the beginning of this century. The present situation — one of a Christianity and an autonomous intellectual life in alternate harmony and opposition — is full of interest and promise.

In the social and political sphere, however, the case is quite different. In Lutheran countries Protestantism was formed not by the revolutionary spirit, but by the system of local princedoms. Luther's doctrine of the divine nature of authority, even when unchristian in character, rendered impossible any sort of opposition between Church and State, and the Church became a State instrument. The middle-class revolution of the

nineteenth century was not accepted by the Church. Later, an attempt was made to capture the labour movement, and incorporate it into the system of princely government; when that failed, it also was bitterly attacked. The Church returned in spirit attached to the pre-bourgeois social system; after the revolution and the collapse of the monarchy, it identified itself with the more conservative elements in the country. But this protest against the newer form of society is powerless, since it is made in the name of a social structure which is obsolete. In practice it becomes a compromise, not *against* bourgeois society, but *against* socialism. It results in making the influence of Christianity on political and social developments exceedingly slight, and this is not without danger in the intellectual sphere. It tends to render in wide circles of the Church acceptable an ideology that has no relation to the actual social structure. The task of "religious socialism" as a work for a form of society in which the autonomous culture forms, both intellectual and social, shall be filled with the spirit and force of Christianity, is a task to which it will succeed in this task; the forces of the existing capitalist-bourgeois social order may be too strong for it; but at least it represents the only movement which attacks the problem "Christianity and Modern Society" at the point of greatest tension — the conflict between the intellect and labour.

But the really necessary condition for a truly living relation between Christianity and modern society is the embodiment of Christianity in a visible form, a "form of Grace." In this respect Catholicism has an advantage over Protestantism, and this makes its relation to modern society much easier to determine, although its historical supersession by Protestantism renders it unsuitable for solving the problems of the moment. It must be recognised that when the visible "form of Grace" is lacking, religious life becomes subject to social and political forces, and is of necessity secularised. The solution of the problem "Christianity and modern society" can only be found in a "Form of Grace" which is neither to shed its characteristic of Catholicism) but which will be more effective than Catholicism, at the same time, particularly in the struggle against the bourgeois culture forms.

Our task is then to work out the "form of Grace" in which Christianity will be able to express society at once in judge, as an embodiment of its true meaning, and as the attainment of its ultimate redemption. And the more completely we share the life of the historical period in which we find ourselves, the more fully we enter into the conflict and passion which it involves, the greater our contribution towards the coming of this "form of Grace" in which Christianity and the society of the future will enter on a new relationship.

Jesus as a Radical.

By REINHOLD NIEBUHR.

There are two large classes of Christians who are a hindrance to a reorganisation of modern society in terms of the Christian ideal. The one consists of those who regard the possibility of a Christian society as hopeless, and the other is made up of the optimists who think that the task is fairly easy. In a very general way the Christians of the European continent belong in the first class and the Christians of the Anglo-Saxon world, more particularly the Americans, comprise the second class.

Virtues and Vices of Religious Pessimism.

From the perspective of an English or American Christian the piety of Europe, and this refers particularly to German and French Protestantism, is too quietistic. Despairing of the world, it puts all of its emphasis upon the sentiment of Jesus "The Kingdom of God is within you." It prompts the sensitive soul to abandon the world to its own devices and to seek its peace and happiness not by fleeing into the monastery, as in the asceticism of the Middle Ages, but by escaping into the inner world of religious sentiment and experience. This type of piety has all the virtues and vices of religious pessimism. Americans, who have the naive optimism of a youthful people, are unable to see that pessimism may be a virtue, the virtue of a sensitive conscience. European Christians, on the other hand, find it difficult to realise how easily a religious pessimism may merely contribute to a further secularisation of society by its tendency to centre the attention of the sensitive conscience upon other than social problems. The difference between the two may be illustrated by a student conference of recent years in which a certain American religious leader pictured the evils of modern industrialism in China and ended his address by an appeal for men and money to bring a Christian social conscience to bear upon the new industrial problems of the Orient. One of the German students in the audience was so deeply affected by the tale of human injustice in the Orient that he regarded the practical appeal which ended the address as a trivial anti-climax. Before the evidence of such depths of human iniquity as had been

portrayed he thought nothing adequate but a religious service of repentance. The incident illustrates both the virtues and the weaknesses of the two types of Christians. Americans and Calvinistic Christians in general are quite prone to assume too easily that some little scheme will eliminate the social evils against which a Christian conscience reacts. On the European continent there is a general feeling that the Christians of the Anglo-Saxon world have in late years made a too easy identification of the Kingdom of God with the League of Nations. But on the other hand a religion which prompts men to throw up their hands in righteous despair is hardly more serviceable than a faith which is characterised by a fatuous optimism. In religion, as in all truth-seeking where the facts and the realities are complex, nothing is either true or false except in its proportion and its relation to other truths. Does the truth lie somewhere between these "European" and "American" positions? If we go back to Jesus for guidance and authority, can we discover any clue for a more fruitful position than either of these?

The Radicalism of Jesus.

We are of course all familiar with the effort of every group to sanctify its own position by claiming the authority of Jesus. There are various elements in his position as we know it historically, and by a proper emphasis and lack of emphasis almost anything can be claimed for him. Henri Barbusse's recent life of Jesus is one interesting example of the many efforts which have been made to claim Jesus for the social revolutionists. In America some years ago Bouck White attracted attention by a similar attempt. Yet they can hardly be further from the truth than the efforts of complacent Christians to make Jesus the symbol of a life of harmless decency. The most flagrant effort of this type has recently achieved wide popularity in America in Bruce Barton's "The Man Nobody Knows."

My own opinion is that Jesus was a radical rather than either a revolutionist or a quietist. He was radical in the sense that Francis of Assisi was a radical and not after the manner of Henri Barbusse. If the pharisees crucified him because he opposed their oppression of the poor they also crucified him because he refused to participate in a revolt against the oppression of the Romans. His radicalism consisted in his realisation that the good life could not be achieved within the limits of conven-

tional society with its conventional corruptions of the highest moral values. He was much more critical of the possessive instinct than most of the conventional Christians who claim him as the authority of their particular type of decency. His warning "Take heed of all covetousness" and his advice to the rich young man "Sell all thou hast" are both typical of a thread of thought which runs through the whole gospel, and which Catholic asceticism has understood much better than most Protestant thought. It is at this point that the gulf between his thought and the dominant ideas of western civilisation yawns most widely. For western civilisation has identified happiness with the possession of things.

The Greater and the Lesser Loyalty.

He was radical in his insistence that all loyalties to the immediate groups of man, the family, the race and the nation, must be subjected to the loyalty for the "kingdom" the beloved community in which love levels all distinctions. His words "Who soloveth father and mother more than me" and again "who are my brothers, mother and sisters" and his advice to the young man who urged preoccupation with a filial duty "let the dead bury their dead" seem unusually harsh, but are merely the rigorous application of this idea. His parable which describes the kingdom of God as the pearl of great price for which everything is sacrificed is another way of insisting that all lesser loyalties must be sacrificed for the one great loyalty. In comparison with this kind of absolute idealism all conventional Christian morality, which is forever sacrificing the interests of humanity to the special privileges and interests of families, races and nations is in strong contrast. It may not be too much to say that Jesus earned the enmity of the group of patriotic pharisees precisely because he was not a good patriot, at least not from their perspective. He could weep sympathetically over Jerusalem, but he also counselled the Jews to love their enemies, that is, the Romans. All this dissociates Jesus from the quietists who would attain the perfect life without disturbing social relationships and merely by withdrawing from the stubborn problems of society and appropriating the ideal in their inner life.

The Limits of Optimism.

On the other hand it does not associate Jesus with the type of revolutionist who believes that a reorganisation of society

as the one necessary scheme for the attainment of the moral ideal, or with the optimistic evolutionists who think that all human society is inevitably and automatically approaching the ideal of "the Kingdom of God." It is true that Jesus compares the kingdom of God to the mustard seed and thereby implies that there will be a steady growth of the principle of love in human relationships. But on the other hand he was too good a realist to believe that brutal forces of human society would yield very easily to the power of love. He was in one sense more of a pessimist than an optimist, which means that he was, after the thought-forms of his day, an apocalyptic rather than an evolutionist. He saw the possibility of establishing a kingdom of love, but he knew that it would earn the enmity of the world, and he warned his disciples of the persecutions which they would have to endure. Yet his faith in God made it impossible for him to be a consistent pessimist, and as he approached the cross he predicted the final victory of the cause which would be momentarily defeated. I think that moderns who try to destroy the force of his apocalyptic notions are hardly in accord with history. He did seem to expect that final victory to come through an intervention of God in history. In that respect he was closer to the ideas of a cataclysmic change held by both premillenarians and communists than to those of the easy-going and complacent evolutionists. His ideas at this point may not be agreeable to the modern scientific mind, but they do justice to some facts in human life which evolutionary optimism does not easily recognize. Those facts are that the world of history is much more organically related to the world of nature than optimists believe, and that a life which incarnates the ideal can never be quite at home in human society. It must save its optimism by hoping for some kind of ultimate triumph and not by accepting small and momentary victories of the moral ideal as final. To do the latter invariably betrays religion into the sanctification of society's semi-decencies and equivocal moralities as the last word in Christian righteousness.

The Power of Love.

However, it is just at this point that Jesus so easily becomes the justification for the position of the quietist. His "The kingdom of God is within you" is used as authority for the idea that the world belongs to the devil and that the righteous soul

find peace only by letting the world take its course and going to the asylum of mystical experience. If Jesus despaired of conquering the whole world by the power of love, he did not despair of the power of love. He believed that a kingdom of love could be established in history and time and he also knew that it could be done only at a tremendous price. In as far as the church is a religious fellowship which ostensibly accepts the principles of Jesus but does not use them to change actual human relations, to level the barriers of privilege and to substitute the power of love for the power of force, it is not in any sense the "kingdom of God." When a learned bishop during the late war was accused of radicalism because he had preached a sermon on the text "Blessed are the peacemakers," he defended himself by saying that his words had no political significance, and that he had used them only in "a religious sense." Sadly enough, that is the usual strategy of the church. It uses the principles of Jesus not to transform the world but to transcend it.

Modern Christians may not be able to use the exact technique of Jesus for escaping the perils of both an easy optimism and the over-nerve of a consistent pessimism. The apocalyptic ideas of his day can no longer serve us. But a new substitute must be found for them. A conscience which imagines that the victory of the kingdom of love is just around the corner is not sensitive enough to the realities of life to be Christian. But a religious conscience which despairs of the final victory of the good is not sufficiently in touch with the spiritual realities of the world which guarantee this ultimate victory to be Christian. If we withdraw from the world it must be for the purpose of gaining a fulcrum from which we can bring the leverage of spiritual power to bear on the world's life; if we try to transform the world we must be aware of saving our faith by accepting some momentary achievement as the final victory. The true follower of Jesus must be faithful without falling into despair, and morally active without claiming premature victories.

Der Innere Mensch *

The editors of the "Student World" had asked Dr. Karl Barth to contribute an article for this number on the theme "The Christ of Faith". In declining this invitation Dr. Barth wrote the following letter, which he has been kind enough to allow the editors to publish :

Münster i. W., 12. März 1928.

Sehr geehrter Herr Miller !

Sie waren so freundlich, mich zur Mitarbeit an der Julinumnummer der Zeitschrift "the Student World" einzuladen. Ich danke Ihnen bestens für das Vertrauen, muss Sie aber bitten, mir zu verzeihen, dass ich diesen Auftrag nicht übernehmen kann. Ich kritisiere niemanden, der der Meinung ist, mit der Veranstaltung eines solchen aus den verschiedenartigsten christlichen Stimmen zusammengesetzten Orchesterkonzertes etwas Gutes und Verheissungsvolles zu tun, oder dem es Freude macht, dabei mitzuwirken. Ich weiss, dass derartige Veranstaltungen heute in der Christenheit und sonst an der Tagesordnung sind und will gerne daran glauben, dass die Absichten dabei ernsthafte sind. Aber gerade die ernsthaften Vertreter dieser modernen Methoden werden auch Verständnis haben für die Besorgnis, es möchte durch solche Veranstaltungen der Anschein erweckt oder es möchte der schon vorhandene Anschein verstärkt werden :

1. Die Einheit der Christen in Christus sei eine Wirklichkeit, die durch eine Addition von möglichst vielen und verschiedenartigen christlichen Standpunkten sichtbar darzustellen ist.

2. Die christliche Wahrheit bestehe also in der Summe oder in dem Querschnitt der jeweiligen im Umlauf befindlichen christlichen Gedanken und Meinungen.

3. Die christliche Erkenntnis vollziehe sich also auf dem Weg einer Auswahl und gegenseitigen Abrundung zwischen diesen verschiedenen christlichen Ansichten.

Diesem Anschein, den ich für verhängnisvoll halte, möchte

* Autorisierter Abdruck aus "Kom Schöpfer Geist" von Karl Barth und Ed. Thurneysen, Chr. Kaiser Verlag, München.

ich nicht dienen, indem ich meinen Namen und eine Aeusserung meiner Gedanken zu der beabsichtigten Stimmensammlung hergebe. Gerade wenn es so ist, wie Sie schreiben: dass meine Gedanken da und dort auch in Ihren Kreisen Eingang gefunden haben, könnten Alle die, die wissen, um was es mir geht, sich nur wundern darüber, mich in dieser Reihe auftauchen zu sehen. *Mein* Beitrag kann in diesem Fall nicht darin bestehen, dass ich 3000 Worte sage; sondern dass ich kein einziges Wort sage; das ist was ich ehrlicher Weise hier allein tun kann.

Fassen Sie es bitte nicht als Hochmut auf, dass ich Ihre Einladung nicht annehme, sondern glauben Sie mir, dass ich es persönlich gerne tun würde, wenn ich die Lage sachlich anders ansehen könnte. Wenn es Ihnen schwer fallen sollte, mich zu verstehen, so wird Ihnen gewiss Herr Dr. Adolf Keller, der, wie ich sehe, auch zu Ihren Mitarbeitern gehört, meinen Fall gerne etwas näher erklären und Ihnen sagen, dass ich kein böser Mensch bin.

Mit herzlichem Gruss
Ihr sehr ergebener

Prof. D. KARL BARTH.

(Translation).

Münster i.W. 12th March 1928.

Dear Mr. Miller,

You have been good enough to ask me to contribute to the July number of your magazine the "Student World." I wish to express my thanks for this mark of confidence, but I must ask you to forgive me if I find it impossible to comply with your request. I should not wish to criticise anyone who hopes for valuable results from the arrangement of such a species of international orchestral concert, in which the most varied Christian points of view would play their part, nor would I criticise those who might find pleasure in taking part in it. I know that such undertakings are much in use to-day in Christian and other circles, and would willingly believe that the intentions of those who promote them are earnest and serious. But those who favour these modern methods will understand, if they are in earnest, the anxiety felt by others lest such undertakings should give rise to the impression, or strengthen it where it already exists:

1. That the unity of Christians in Christ is something actual, which can be visibly represented by adding together as many and as different Christian standpoints as possible.

2. That Christian truth consists in the sum total or in a cross-section of all the various Christian ideas and opinions.

3. That Christian knowledge is arrived at by means of a selection or mutual completion as between these various Christian points of view.

I consider such an impression disastrous, and should not wish to serve it by giving my name and the expression of my opinions to the collection which you are planning. If what you say is true, that my views have been accepted in certain places in your Movements, then all those who know what my real position is could only feel astonishment at seeing me appear in such company. My contribution cannot consist in this case in writing 3,000 words, but in not writing a single one; that is the only thing that I can honestly do for you.

I beg that you will not regard it as arrogance, if I refuse to comply with your invitation, but that you will believe that I personally would willingly do so, if only I could see the whole objective situation differently. If you should find it difficult to understand my point of view, I am sure that Doctor Adolf Keller, who, I see, is one of your contributors, would explain my position to you and assure you that there is no ill-will in me.

With kind regards,

Yours very sincerely,

KARL BARTH.

Having failed to secure a statement from Dr. Barth, permission was obtained to publish a sermon from a book of sermons by Dr. Barth and Dr. Thurneysen, of Basle, which illustrates the point of view and the religious spirit of those who are associated with the Barthian Movement.

2. Cor. 4, 16-18. Darum werden wir nicht mutlos, sondern wenn auch unser äusserer Mensch zerstört wird, so wird doch unser innerer Tag für Tag erneuert. Denn die augenblickliche leichte Bedrängnis schafft, Fülle um Fülle, eine ewige gewichtige Herrlichkeit, uns nämlich, die wir es nicht auf das Unsichtbare abgesehen haben. Denn das Sichtbare ist zeitlich, das Unsichtbare ist ewig.

Darum werden wir nicht mutlos! Das wollen wir heute gleich in einem ersten Sprung feststellen, von diesem Text

uns sagen lassen : Es gibt Menschen, die kennen zwar die Mutlosigkeit, sie kennen aber auch ein „Darum“ und ein „Nicht“, die sie der Mutlosigkeit bewusst und mit Erfolg entgegenstellen. Die Mutlosigkeit kennen wir jedenfalls auch. Wir wissen aber vielleicht noch nicht, dass die Mutlosigkeit nicht eine blosse Stimmung ist, gegen die man etwa aufkommen könnte, indem man versucht, sich anderen freundlicheren Stimmungen hinzugeben. Mutlosigkeit ist eine *Macht* in unserem Dasein, eine eherne Notwendigkeit in dieser Welt, und wenn wir ihr ein „Darum nicht“ entgegenstellen wollten, wie es Paulus in seinen Worten tut, dann müsste auch dieses „Darum nicht“ eine Macht sein, eine grössere, überlegene Macht, die die Macht der Mutlosigkeit zu Boden kämpft, eine Notwendigkeit, die härter ist als Erz und Stein, weil sie nicht aus dieser Welt kommt. Mutlosigkeit ist der Zustand, der über den Menschen kommt, wenn er sich klar wird über seine Lage als Mensch unter Menschen, als Mensch, der sterben muss und genau genommen jetzt schon im Sterben liegt, als Mensch in der Welt. Mutlosigkeit ist also eine direkte Folge der Wahrhaftigkeit, der Ehrlichkeit. Man kann es wohl verstehen, dass die meisten Menschen es vermeiden, wahrhaftig zu werden, ganz ehrlich sich einzugestehen, wie es mit ihnen und uns allen eigentlich steht. Sie fürchten mit Recht, das könnte sie mutlos machen. Das ist die Quelle aller menschlichen Beschränktheit und Einbildung. Man sagt, es sei für viele Menschen eine Wohltat, dass sie beschränkt oder eingebildet seien, und man dürfe sie in diesem Zustand nicht stören, weil sie sonst den Mut verlieren könnten. Wenn diese Wohltat nur grösser und wirksamer wäre ! Tatsächlich kann man ja der Mutlosigkeit nicht entfliehen, niemand kann es ganz. Sie drängt sich durch alle Poren und Ritzen zu uns herein. Denn das Leben ist nun einmal, wie es ist. Wer das nicht wissen will, der muss es mit der Zeit merken, spüren und erfahren, ohne es zu wissen, und dann kommt auch über ihn die Mutlosigkeit. Wir lächeln und lachen vielleicht noch, wir reden und gebärden uns vielleicht noch mit grosser Sicherheit und Zuversicht, aber das ist nur eine Wand, die wir gegen die eindringende, übermächtige Flut aufgestellt haben, und diese Wand ist nicht das „Darum nicht“ des Paulus, sie stammt aus dieser Welt, sie ist schon durchlöchert, indem wir sie bauen, und jenseits der Wand ist alles bereits unter Wasser.

Mutlos machen kann uns z.B. die Einsicht, dass wir alle nicht mit grossen, sondern mit sehr kleinen Dingen beschäftigt sind. Wir sind alle so dran, dass wir die Sehnsucht nach einer

grossen Wanderung in uns tragen und tatsächlich nur ein paar kleine Schritte im Kreis herum tun. Und darüber verstreicht unser Leben. Es kann uns mutlos machen, das einzusehen. Mutlos machen kann uns die Einsicht, dass in uns allen tief da unten etwas Unbelehrbares, Unbewegliches, Unerlöstes sitzt, mit starrem Gesichte wie ein chinesischer Götze. Das ist mein Besonderes, mein Ich, das was ich für mich bin, meine Persönlichkeit. Ein durchaus unerfreuliches Wesen, das uns alle überall und immer begleitet und aus allen unsern Worten und Taten herausguckt mit seinem Chinesengesicht. Ist es unser erbitterter Feind, oder ist es unser wirkliches, tiefstes Wesen? Es kann uns jedenfalls mutlos machen, daran zu denken, dass es da ist. Mutlos machen kann uns die Erfahrung, dass auf unser aller Lebensweg auch äusserlich gewisse Klötze liegen, die nach menschlichem Ermessen nie davon verschwinden. Mutlos machen kann uns auch die Einsicht, dass nach einem alten Weisheitswort alles im Fluss ist in unserm Dasein; der Gedanke daran, dass auch das Grösste und Schönste, was uns heute bewegt, einmal in seiner Einseitigkeit und Verirrung erkannt und blossgestellt werden wird; der Gedanke daran, dass der Tag kommt, wo wir alle miteinander vergessen sein werden, als wäre es nie gewesen, was jetzt von Freude und Leid in uns brennt: Staat und Kunst, Wissenschaft und Kirche, Demokratie, Sozialismus und Völkerbund, religiöses Erleben und christlicher Aktivismus. Wenn die Gletscher wieder kommen? Oder schon vorher: Wenn Asien mit seinem unergründlichen Geheimnis uns erdrückt oder Amerika mit seinem Geld uns kauft? Da kann man wohl mutlos werden. Mutlosigkeit ist der Zustand, der aus der Einsicht kommt, dass unserer äusserer Mensch zerstört wird. Man könnte auch sagen: aus der Einsicht in die Herrschaft des *Todes*, unter der unser gesamtes Dasein steht. Wir müssten noch vieles nennen und beschreiben, was uns zu dieser Einsicht bringen muss, vor allem unsere Bedingtheit und Gefangenschaft als Mann und Weib. Wir wollen inne halten. Irgendwie sind wohl wir alle, ob wir wollen oder nicht, bereits zu dieser Einsicht gebracht. Wir kennen alle, alle die Mutlosigkeit, da man die Hände sinken lassen und die Augen schliessen und mitten am Tage zur Nacht und mitten im Leben zum Tode Ja sagen möchte. Das Leben geht weiter, aber die Freude, der Glanz, die Hoffnung sind dahin. Die Erwartung und der Wille sind gestorben. Unzählige Menschen leben fast ganz in diesem Zustand, und etwas von diesem Zustand ist in uns allen. Und nun begegnet uns in den Worten des Paulus ein

Mensch, der kennt die Mutlosigkeit auch und spricht es scharf und ehrlich aus, wie es mit ihm und uns allen steht : „ Unser äusserer Mensch wird zerstört ! “ Er hat aber ein „ *Darum nicht* “, das er der Mutlosigkeit entgegenstellt, und das keine durchlöchernte Wand von Unehrlichkeit ist, sondern mit dem er, Macht gegen Macht, Härte gegen Härte, Notwendigkeit gegen Notwendigkeit, über die Mutlosigkeit triumphiert. Ein ehrlicher Mensch, aber ein triumphierender Mensch ! Auch wenn wir garnicht verstehen “ wie und warum ? “ Das ist ein Bild, ein Schauspiel, über das wir einmal staunen, an dem wir uns einmal erbauen müssen.

Was sagt Paulus ? Wir wollen ihm Wort für Wort zuhören. Er sagt zunächst : Unser äusserer Mensch wird zerstört, aber während und indem das geschieht, wird doch unser innerer Mensch Tag für Tag erneuert. Es ist wie alle derartigen Worte in der Bibel nicht nur so ein frommes Sprüchlein, wenn Paulus das sagt, sondern ein Wagnis, ein kühnes, hohes Greifen, ein Sieg in einem ganz unmöglichen Kampfe. Wir möchten denn doch fragen, ob das nur der äussere Mensch ist, dessen Zerstörung wir sehen müssen, wenn wir unser Leben ehrlich ansehen. Fragt sie einmal, alle die Ermüdeten und Enttäuschten unter uns, alle die an sich selbst irre geworden sind, die Kranken in den Spitälern und Anstalten, die verbitterten Familienväter und Familienmütter, fragt die, die heute nach allem, was geschehen ist, nichts anderes mehr erwarten als den Untergang unserer ganzen abendländischen Kultur, fragt euch selbst, ob das, was zerstört wird und dessen Zerstörung uns mutlos macht, nur der „ äussere “ Mensch ist ? Ist sie denn nur leiblich, nur körperlich, nur materiell, nur äusserlich : die Todesnot, in der sich der Mensch befindet ? O faule Tröster mit ihrem „ nur “, die uns damit Mut machen wollen, dass sie uns auf das Herz, den Geist, die Seele, das Innere verweisen wollen als auf das Gebiet, das von der Zerstörung nicht berührt werde. Leidet nicht auch das Herz, wenn die Glieder leiden, krankt nicht auch die Seele, wenn der Körper krank ist, stirbt nicht auch der Geist, wenn in der Tat Europa heute materiell zugrunde gehen sollte ? Ja, was ist alle äussere Not neben der inneren, in der wir uns befinden ? Ist nicht gerade die innere Zerstörung, die wir durchmachen, die eigentliche Quelle unserer Mutlosigkeit ? Nun, da können wir zunächst ganz ruhig sein : Paulus gehört nicht zu diesen faulen Tröstern. Wir brauchen uns bloss daran zu erinnern, dass er bei allem, was er da sagt, in Gedanken Christus vor sich hat, Christus am Kreuz mit seinem Ruf : Mein Gott,

mein Gott, warum hast du mich verlassen ? Und Paulus hat einmal seinen eigenen Zustand beschrieben mit den Worten : „ Auswendig Streit, inwendig Furcht “. Wer so redet, der beschwichtigt sich selbst und andere nicht damit, dass er sagt : Sei du nur getrost, liebe Seele, das ist alles nur äusserlich, und innerlich kann trotzdem alles in beste Ordnung kommen ! Nein, der weiss, dass die grosse Bedrängnis des Menschen auch innerlich, gerade innerlich, vor allem innerlich ist. Die Seele ist's, die dem Tode ins Gesicht sehen muss, die Seele ist's, die in Zerstörung begriffen ist. Wenn Paulus sagt : Der *äussere* Mensch wird zerstört, so ist darin wahrhaftig auch alles das *inbegriffen*, was wir *innerlich*, *geistig*, *seelisch* zu nennen gewöhnt sind. Es ist darin schlechthin alles inbegriffen, was wir menschlicherweise sind und haben, alles was wir menschlicherweise überhaupt erfahren und uns denken können. Paulus kennt nichts *in der Welt*, das von der Herrschaft des Todes ausgenommen wäre. Das ist's ja eben, was uns mutlos machen will, dass wir je länger um so mehr sehen müssen : In der Welt, gleichviel ob im Aeusseren oder im Innern, gibt es keinen Winkel, wo nicht die Spure des Todes schrecklich wahrnehmbar wären. Die ganze Welt, die wir kennen, meint Paulus, wenn er vom äussern Menschen redet. „ Mensch “ nennt er diese Welt, weil es die Welt der Menschen ist, weil es der Mensch ist, der in ihr den Tod als Tod erleidet, der ihre Zerstörung als etwas Mutraubendes, Ungehöriges, Schreckliches erleben und empfinden muss. Wenn wir vernehmen wollen, was Paulus vom *inneren* Menschen sagt, so müssen wir mit ihm *über die Welt hinaus*. Hinaus über das, was wir sind und haben, äusserlich und innerlich, hinaus über Körper und Seele, Natur und Geist. Wir müssen es wagen, mit ihm den Gedanken zu denken, den wir nicht denken können : den Gedanken *Gottes*. Der innere Mensch, von dem Paulus redet, er ist nicht etwa ein noch unbekannter Winkel der Welt, eine allerletzte Tiefe unserer Seele, die wir mit einer grössten Kraftanstrengung auch noch erreichen müssten, um daselbst endlich geborgen zu sein. Es ist das Andere an uns, das nicht mehr Welt ist, in keinem Sinne, die Tiefe *Gottes selbst*. Kein Arzt und kein Seelenarzt, kein Sozialpolitiker und kein Erzieher kann sie betreten, geschweige denn daselbst etwas ausrichten mit seinen Methoden. Keine Frömmigkeit, keine Tugend und keine Weisheit kann das Leben dieses inneren Menschen begründen, erhalten und vollenden. Kein Auge hat ihn gesehen, kein Ohr hat ihn gehört, in keines Menschen Herz und Erleben ist er gekommen. Sein Ort ist

genau die Grenze alles dessen, was wir denken, erfahren, tun und leiden können, dort fängt alles Unsrige an, dort hört es auf. Seine Zeit ist die Zeit, die keine Zeit ist, die Ewigkeit. Dort wo alles aufhört, dort fängt der innere Mensch an. Dort wo wir das, was wir „Leben“ nennen, verschwinden sehen im absoluten Geheimnisse des Todes, dort ist unser eigentliches Leben. Dort wo wir nichts mehr erkennen, wo wir sagen müssten, dass da nur noch Abgrund, Finsternis und Ende ist, da ist Gott zu erkennen. Und dort, sagt Paulus, dort ihr Müden, ihr Betrübten, ihr Erschrockenen, dort ereignet sich *auch* etwas, während sich die Zerstörung des äusseren Menschen ereignet, die ihr jetzt vor Augen habt. Hier Ende, dort Anfang. Hier Abbruch, dort Aufbau. Hier Nein, dort Ja. Hier Tod, dort Leben. Hier Zerstörung, dort Erneuerung. Es wird dort Tag für Tag erneuert. Es fliesst dort eine Quelle. Es wird dort ein Anfang gemacht. Es findet dort ein Ursprung statt. Es wird dort ein Grund gelegt. Es wird dort Leben, Dasein, Wesen erschaffen aus dem Nichts. Es *ist dort Gott selbst*. Tag für Tag wird dort erneuert und wir könnten fortfahren : Stunde für Stunde, Minute für Minute. Keine Zeit ohne Ewigkeit. Keine Zerstörung hier ohne Erneuerung dort. Kein Altwerden, Schwachwerden, Sterben hier ohne Erschaffung neuen Lebens dort. Kein Fremder, Ferner, Unbekannter ist ja unser innerer Mensch, der aus Gott Geborene, ewig Lebendige, wir selbst sind es, gerade weil er mehr ist als wir selbst, gerade weil wir selbst mit ihm anfangen und aufhören. Immer und überall ist das Dort verborgen hinter dem Hier. Das Dort ist nur die andere Seite, die Gottesseite des Hier. Der innere Mensch in seiner Erneuerung ist nur die andere Seite, die Gotteseite des äusseren Menschen in seiner Zerstörung. Wir selbst sind es, mit denen es sich ereignet, dass wir erneuert werden. Denn dieser innere Mensch, das sind wir. Die Tiefe Gottes selbst, das ist die Wahrheit des Menschen. In *unser* traurig-wahres Altwerden hinein leuchtet und tönt das noch wahrere Neu, Neu, Neu! *Unser* Tod wird verschlungen vom Leben. Unser ehrliches Nein wird aufgehoben und umgekehrt ins Ja. „Was hier kränkelt, seufzt und fleht, wird dort frisch und herrlich gehen ; irdisch werd' ich ausgesät, himmlisch werd' ich auferstehen“. Seht, das ist das Wagnis, das kühne Greifen, der Sieg, der in diesen Worten liegt. Wir spüren es ja ohne weiteres : Das ist ein Wagnis, den unerhörten Gedanken Gottes zu denken über die Welt hinaus, dort anzufangen, wo alles aufhört, dort Ja zu sagen, wo wir nur Nein hören, dort vom Leben zu reden, wo man sonst Tod sagt, von dort alles zu erwarten,

wo man sonst nichts mehr erwartet. Das *ist* ein Wagnis, dort zu setzen und zu sagen: „es ist!“, wo alles und jedes „es ist“ unmöglich ist. Das *ist* ein Wagnis, Hier und Dort, dieses auch so wohlbekannte Hier und dieses auch so unbekannte Dort zusammen zu fassen wie mit einer eisernen Klammer und nun das ganze Hier von dem verborgenen, überlegenen Dort aus zu begreifen. Das *ist* ein Wagnis, sich selbst und den Menschen zu sagen: „Das Dort ist dem Hier *überlegen*, gerade der innere Mensch ist in *Wahrheit* der Mensch und darum, darum weil das der Mensch ist, *darum* werden wir nicht mutlos“. Nein, das ist kein frommes Sprüchlein, das ist nicht natürlich, nicht selbstverständlich, das pflückt man nicht vom Baum, das ist ein *Wagnis*. In diesem Wagnis ist die Macht, die Paulus der Mutlosigkeit entgegenstellt.

Und nun müssen wir noch etwas hören. Wir könnten ja nun fragen, wie kommt ein Mensch dazu, dieses „Darum nicht“ so in die Hand zu nehmen und der Mutlosigkeit entgegenzustellen. Paulus gibt eine sehr merkwürdige Antwort. Er sagt nicht: *Die Bedrängnis schafft die Herrlichkeit*. Denkt, was das sagen will: Gerade was mich gefangen nimmt, befreit mich. Gerade was mich tötet, macht mich lebendig. Gerade durchs Nein komme ich zum Ja. Gerade das Ende brauche ich zum Anfangen. Gerade die Zerstörung des äussern Menschen muss sein zur Erneuerung des innern. Er würde uns also z.B. sagen: „Ja, begreife nur, wie klein das ist, was du tust und tun musst! Begreife nur, wie unerlöst und unerfreulich dein Ich ist! Begreife nur den Klotz auf Deinem Weg in seiner furchtbaren Tatsächlichkeit! Begreife nur, dass alles fliesst und vergeht! Begreife nur den „Untergang des Abendlandes!“ Begreife und *sei* bedrängt und *lass* dich bedrängen! Die Bedrängnis schafft die Herrlichkeit. Sie nimmt dir, was dir genommen werden muss. Sie erweckt Zweifel und Fragen in dir, die einmal in dir erwachen *müssen*. Sie tötet, was sterben muss. Du bist ja noch nicht dort, wo alles aufhört, noch nicht dort, wo du nur an Gott selbst denken kannst, noch nicht vor dem Unmöglichen, noch nicht am Ende, wo die neue Welt anfängt. Du hast die Grenze noch nicht erreicht, wo das Leben anfängt. Die Bedrängnis *schafft* die Herrlichkeit, indem sie dich an die Grenze drängt. Dein innerer Mensch *braucht* die Bedrängnis. Das ist eine unermessliche Einsicht. Es ist, wie wenn im Kriege Geschütze erobert und sofort feindwärts gekehrt werden. Was mich mutlos machen wollte, das muss mich jetzt nicht nur in Ruhe lassen, das macht mich jetzt mutig. Es ist nicht nur „augenblicklich und leicht“

geworden; seine Kraft abzureissen, Zweifel und Fragen zu wecken, in die Enge zu treiben, zum äussersten zu bringen, zu töten, diese Kraft muss mir nun dienen. Ich freue mich darüber, bedrängt zu sein: Ich will nichts anderes als bedrängt sein. Bedrängnis schafft, Fülle um Fülle, Herrlichkeit, ewige, gewichtige Herrlichkeit.

Aber nichtwahr, das alles können und wollen wir nicht ohne weiteres und einfach nachsagen. Wir wollen uns nicht einbilden, als ob wir es ohne Frage, etwa kraft einer plötzlichen Erleuchtung oder eines freien Entschlusses könnten. Wenn etwas heute aufhören muss, so ist es die religiöse Anmassung und Ueberheblichkeit, die sich erlaubt, was Propheten, Apostel und Reformatoren sagen durften, ohne den Beweis des Geistes und der Kraft einfach nachzusagen. Wer sind die, die so reden können, bei denen es wahr ist, wenn sie so reden? Paulus sagt es: „Wir, die wir es nicht auf das Sichtbare, sondern auf das unsichtbare abgesehen haben“, weil wir wissen: „Das Sichtbare ist zeitlich, das Unsichtbare ist ewig“. Es bedeutet eine Wendung, eine Umkehrung unseres Lebens, deren wir uns nicht zu rasch fähig erklären wollen, wenn wir sagen können, dass wir es auf das Unsichtbare abgesehen haben. Die Meisten auch von denen, die meinen, sie täten das, würden tödlich erschrecken, wenn man ihnen sagen würde, was das ist, *das Unsichtbare*! Den Gedanken Gottes denkt man nicht jedesmal, wenn man „ergriffen“ ist. Es fragt sich, von was wir ergriffen sind. Wir wollen uns lieber offen gestehen, dass wir es im ganzen auch in unseren Ergriffenheiten durchaus auf das *Sichtbare* abgesehen haben und darum dann auch im Ganzen jenes „Darum nicht“ *nicht* haben, um es der Mutlosigkeit entgegenzustellen. Wenn wir es hätten, wir würden samt und sonders andere Gesichter machen, und es würde in der Welt sehr anders aussehen. Es ist uns besser, wenn wir den Abstand zwischen uns und der Bibel wahrnehmen. Wir wollen uns damit begnügen, zu hören, dass es Menschen gibt, die der Mutlosigkeit zum Trotz mutig leben wie jener Ritter auf dem Bilde von Albrecht Dürer: zwischen Tod und Teufel. Wir wollen uns klar machen: Darum handelt es sich eigentlich im Christentum, das ist's, was dem Paulus durch *Christus* widerfahren ist, dass er sein Absehen auf das Unsichtbare haben konnte, musste und wollte. Die totale Wendung des Lebens in der Richtung auf das Unsichtbare, das ist das „Christentum.“ Daraus fliesst der Mut, sicher, unbedingt, grenzenlos. Der innere Mensch ist mutig. Aber er muss erwachen in uns, nicht schlafen, wenn uns das etwas helfen soll. Vielleicht

leuchtet und blitzt schon etwas in uns vom Absehen auf das Unsichtbare. Vielleicht zuckt es manchmal wie eine Ahnung durch unseren ganzen äusseren Menschen von seiner andern Seite her : „ Das Sichtbare ist zeitlich, das Unsichtbare ist ewig ! “ Vielleicht träumt unser innerer Mensch, als ob er bald erwachen wollte. Wie sollte es unmöglich sein : Wir haben den undenk- baren Gedanken Gottes vielleicht auch schon gedacht. Wohlan, was wir kennen und haben an Licht und Barmherzigkeit in unserm Leben, an Gnade und Wahrheit in der Welt, das ver- danken wir diesem Vielleicht, diesem Wenigen, in welchem wir an der Seite des Paulus „ in Christus “ sind. Wie wird es erst sein, wenn das Vielleicht zur Gewissheit, das Wenige zum Vielen wird !

The Inward Man.

(Translation)

For which cause we faint not; but though our outward man perish yet the inward man is renewed day by day. For our light affliction, which is but for a moment, worketh for us a far more exceeding and eternal weight of glory. While we look not at the things which are seen, but at the things which are not seen: for the things which are seen are temporal; but the things which are not seen are eternal. (2 Cor. iv, 16-18.)

For which cause we faint not! That then is the first thing for us to realise and learn from this text; — that men and women exist who, though they know what faintness of heart is, know too of a “for which cause” and a “not” which they consciously and successfully oppose to this faint-heartedness. We too know what it is to be faint of heart. But perhaps we have not yet learned that faint-heartedness is no mere mood, against which we can make head by endeavouring to induce in ourselves a happier frame of mind. Faintness of heart is a power in our existence, an iron necessity in this world of ours, and if we would oppose to it, in the words of Paul a “for this cause... not” then this “cause” must be also a power, a greater, superior power, which shall crush down the power of our faint-heartedness, a necessity harder than bronze or stone, because it is not of this world. Faintness of heart is the state which comes over a man when he realises his condition as a man among men, as a man who must die, who, strictly speaking, has already begun to die — as a man in the world. Faintness of heart is then a direct consequence of sincerity and honesty of thought. It is easy to understand that most men shrink from this sincerity, from avowing quite openly to themselves what their position and the position of all of us really is. They fear, and rightly fear, that to do so might make them faint of heart. From this root springs all human narrowness and conceit. It may be said that it is for many men a happy thing that they are narrow and conceited, and that we should not disturb them in this blessed state, lest they should lose heart. If only this happiness were completer and more lasting! In reality however we cannot thus escape from faint-heartedness; no one can do so altogether. It creeps in upon us through all the pores of our skin, through every tiny wound. For life is once for all what it is. Whoever seeks to escape from that fact, will learn it in time, feel it and experience

it, though he may not realise that he is doing so, and then faintness of heart will come upon him. We may smile and laugh, we may talk and act with great sureness and confidence, but that is but a wall which we strive to set up against the oncoming, almighty flood, and this wall is not the "For which cause" of Paul; it is of this world, it is pierced through even as we build it, and all beyond is already under water.

We may lose heart, for instance, when we see that the things with which we are all occupied are not great things, but very small. We are all so made that we long for some great voyage of discovery, and all we can do is to go a few steps round in a circle. And so our life passes away. To realise that, may make us faint of heart. Or we may grow faint-hearted when we see that in all of us, deep down, there is something unteachable, unalterable, unredeemed, something fixed, immovable as a heathen image. That is our peculiar self, our ego, what we are to ourselves, our personality, — an utterly unpleasing being who follows us everywhere and always, and whose set mask peeps out in all our words and deeds. Is it our most deadly enemy or our most essential, our deepest self? In any case, the thought of its presence may well make us faint of heart. We may grow faint-hearted at the knowledge that along the life's road of all of us there lie certain obstacles, which humanly speaking can never be removed. Or when we realise that, as an old word of wisdom has it, everything in our existence is in a state of ebb and flow, that what appeals to us to-day as utmost greatness and beauty will some day be laid bare before us in all its one-sidedness and error; that the day will come when we shall all be forgotten, as though the joy and sorrow which lives in us had never been — church and state, science and art, democracy, socialism and League of Nations, religious experience and Christian social service. What when the ice age returns? Or before then — what when Asia with her impenetrable mystery overwhelms us, or America buys us with her gold? Such thoughts may well make us faint of heart. Faintheartedness is the condition which springs from the realisation that our outward man is perishing. We might also say that it springs from the realisation of the sovereignty of *death*, to which our whole existence is subject. Many more things could be enumerated, which must inevitably bring us to this realisation, above all, our bondage and our dependence as man and woman. But let us rather be silent. In one way or another all of us, whether we wish it or not, have already reached this pass. We all of us, every one, know what it is to be faint of heart, to fold our hands

and close our eyes and in the day-time to see but the night and in the midst of life to long for death. Life goes on, but joy, glamour, hope are no more. Expectation and will are dead within us. Countless men and women live almost entirely in this state, and something of this state is in us all. And now in the words of Paul we meet with a man who knows what it is to be faint of heart, and speaks out boldly and clearly how it is with him and with us all : " Our outward man perishes ! " But he has a " For this cause... not " with which to combat our faintness of heart, and this no broken wall of insincerity, but rather by power against power, by hardness against hardness, by necessity against necessity, he overcomes the faintness of heart in us. A sincere man, but a triumphant man ! Even if we do not understand how and why this may be, it is yet a spectacle which we must view with astonishment, from which we must draw inner strength.

What then does Paul say ? Let us take him word for word. First of all he says : Our outward man perishes, but whilst that is happening, and because it is happening, our inward man is renewed day by day. Like all other similar sayings in the Bible, what Paul says here is not merely a pious maxim, but a daring venture, a bold and lofty out-reach of the spirit, a victory in a battle which seems hopelessly lost. For we might well ask if it is only our *outward* man whose destruction we contemplate when we look with clear-eyed vision at our life. Ask them all, the weary and disillusioned amongst us, all those who have lost faith in themselves, the sick in body and mind in our hospitals and institutions, the embittered fathers and mothers of families, ask those who to-day, after all that has happened, look forward only to the perishing of our Western civilisation, ask yourselves whether that which is being destroyed, and whose destruction makes us faint of heart, is but the " outward " man ? Is it then only of the body, only material, only external, the death agony in which humanity is lying ? Oh feeble comforters with their " only " , who would give us courage by pointing to the heart, the spirit, the soul, the inner self as the region untouched by destruction. Does not the heart suffer when the limbs suffer, is not the soul sick with the sickness of the body, will not the spirit die, if indeed Europe is destined to speedy material ruin ? Nay, what is all outer suffering as compared to the inward misery in which we are all plunged ? Is not the inward destruction through which we are all passing the very root of our faintness of heart ? Well, we may be quite reassured about that ; Paul is

not one of these feeble comforters. We have only to remember that in all that he says here, he has before him Christ, Christ on the Cross with His cry of despair "My God, my God, why hast Thou forsaken me?" And Paul once described his own condition in the words: "Without were fightings, within were fears." The man who speaks thus will not attempt to sooth himself or others by saying: "Take comfort, my soul, that is all only outward; inwardly everything may be all for the best!" It is the soul that must look death in the face; it is the soul that is in process of destruction. When Paul says: our outward man perishes, he includes all that we are in the habit of calling inward, spiritual, the soul. He includes absolutely everything which as human beings we are and have, all that as human beings we can know by experience or thought. Paul knows nothing *in this world* which is exempt from the lordship of death. That is just what drives us to despair, that the longer we live the more clearly we see that in this world there is no smallest spot, whether without us or within, in which the signs of death are not to be seen in all their terror. It is the whole world as we know it that Paul means, when he speaks of our outward man. He calls this world "man" because it is the world of men, because it is man who in it suffers death as death, to whom its destruction comes as something terrifying, portentous, robbing him of all courage. If we would hear what Paul says of the *inward* man, then we must go with him *beyond the bounds of this world*, — beyond all that we have and are, outwardly and inwardly, beyond body and soul, nature and spirit. We must dare to follow him to the thought that is beyond our thought, the thought of *God*. The inward man of whom Paul speaks is not some hitherto undiscovered spot in the world, some final unexplored depth of our souls, to which with utmost exertion we might perhaps attain, to find at length security there. It is that *other* in us, which is no longer of this world, in no sense of this world, the depth of *God Himself*. No doctor and no psychotherapist, no sociologist and no education-alist can penetrate to it, or accomplish anything there by the means at his disposal. No piety, virtue or wisdom can serve to found, to maintain and to perfect the life of this inward man. No eye has seen him, no ear has heard him, into the heart and experience of no man has he entered. His dwelling-place is beyond the limits of all our thought, our experience, our doing and our suffering; there all that is ours begins and ends. His time is the timeless time which is Eternity. There, where all comes to an end, the inward man begins. There, where all that we call "Life" vanishes

in the utter mystery of death, our true life lies. There where our perception fails, there where we would say that all was but chaos, darkness and the end, there we perceive God. And there, says Paul, there, ye weary, ye sorrowful, ye terror-stricken, there *too* something is happening whilst the outward man is being destroyed before your eyes. Here is the end, there the beginning; here a breaking-down, there a building-up; here negation, there affirmation; here death, there life; here destruction, there renewal. There is renewing day by day; there the springs of life flow; there a beginning is being made; there fresh life is coming to birth; there foundations are being laid. There life, existence, being, are in the process of creation from nothingness. *There is God Himself.* There, day by day there is renewing — we might add, hour by hour, minute by minute. There is no time without eternity; no destruction here without renewal there; no growing old and weak and dying here, without the creation of new life there. Our inward man is no stranger, distant and unknown; he is born of God, ever-living; he is ourselves, just because he is more than ourselves, because we ourselves begin and end with him. Ever and always the There is hidden behind the Here. The There is but the other side, God's side, of the Here. Our inward man in his renewal is but the other side, God's side, of the outward man in his destruction. It is we ourselves who undergo the process of renewal, for this inward man is ourselves. The depth of God Himself is the true essence of man. Into the midst of our sorrowful growing old comes the light and the music of a deeper truth: New, new, new! *Our* death is swallowed up in life. *Our* honest "No" is annulled and transformed into "Yes." Yes, that is the daring venture, the bold and lofty outreach of the spirit, the victory that is contained in these words. We feel it immediately, it *is* a venture to send our thought out beyond the world to the unheard-of thought of God, to begin where all leaves off, to affirm where we hear but denial, to speak of life where we know but of death, to expect all, where we are wont to expect nothing. It *is* a venture to postulate life and assert "It is" where all existence ceases to be possible. It *is* a venture to clamp together as with an iron band the Here and the There, the too well-known Here and the altogether unknown There, and so to grasp the meaning of all that is Here through the hidden, higher truth of the There. It is indeed a venture to say to ourselves and to our fellow-men: "That which is There is *higher* than that which is Here; the inward man is the *true* man, and for this cause, because that is the true man, *therefore*, we faint not." No, that is no pious maxim, that is no natural thing,

that does not come of itself, that is a *venture*. And in this venture lies the power with which Paul combats faintness of heart.

And now there is something further. We may ask, how did a human being come to seize upon this "For this cause... not" and oppose it to our faint-heartedness? Paul gives a very remarkable answer to this question. He does not say "If we are religious, we can do this!" He does not say "My power is in my faith" or anything of that sort. He says: "The affliction worketh for us the glory." Think what that means; that very thing which binds me, sets me free; that which kills me, gives me life; through negation I come to affirmation; the end brings me to the beginning. The destruction of the outward man must come in order that the inward man may be renewed. He would say to us, for example: "Yes, see clearly how small a thing it is that you are doing, and must do, how unredeemed and unpleasing your Ego! See clearly the obstacles on your path in all their terrible reality; see that all things ebb and flow and pass away; see the breakdown of western civilisation. See it all, and be afflicted by it and let yourself be afflicted, for the affliction worketh for us the glory! It takes from you what you must lose; it awakens in you doubts and questionings that must be awakened; it kills that which must die. You are not yet arrived there where all things leave off, there, where you can think but of God alone; you have not yet reached the impossible, you are not yet at the end, where the new world commences; you have not yet come to the limit where life begins. The affliction worketh the glory, because it drives you to that last limit; your inward man has need of the affliction. That is an extraordinary perception; it is like the capture of artillery in war and the turning of it at once against the foe. That which was to make me faint of heart does not merely leave me unshaken; it gives me new courage. It has not merely become "light" and "for a moment;" its power to unman me, to awaken in me doubts and questionings, to destroy me — that very power must now do me service. I rejoice in my affliction. I desire no other than to be afflicted. For the affliction worketh a far more exceeding and eternal weight of glory.

But we cannot and we would not accept and repeat all this without further thought. We must not imagine that it is in our power to do so unquestioningly, as if by a sudden illumination or a free resolve. If there is anything which is to be condemned in the religious life of to-day, it is that arrogance and presumption which shows itself in repeating the words of the prophets,

apostles and reformers without any demonstration of their spirit or their power. Who are they who can speak so, with whom it is truth when they so speak? Paul tells us: "We who look not at the things which are seen, but at the things which are not seen," for we know "the things which are seen are temporal; but the things which are not seen are eternal." It means a turning-point, a re-direction of our whole lives, of which we must not too readily declare ourselves capable, if we are to be able to say that we look to the things which are not seen. Most even of those who think that they do this, would be filled with terror if they should learn the true meaning of the things which are not seen. It is not given to us to reach with our thought to the thought of God every time that we are "seized." The question is by what we are "seized." Let us rather confess openly to ourselves that even in our moments of seizure our thoughts are directed rather to the things which are seen, and that therefore we do not attain to that "For which cause... not" with which alone we may combat our faintness of heart. If we did so, we should, one and all of us, look out on the world with very different eyes, and the world itself would be a very different place. It is better for us that we should be conscious of the gulf which separates us from the Bible. Let us be content to know that men and women exist who, in defiance of faintness of heart, live out their lives with courage betwixt death and the devil, like the knight in Albrecht Dürer's picture. Let us be clear with ourselves that the real essence of Christianity, that which came to Paul through Christ, is this, that we can, must and will look to the things which are not seen. The turning of the whole of life towards the invisible — that is Christianity. Thence comes courage, sure, absolute, boundless. The inward man is courageous. But he must be awake in us, not asleep, if help is to come to us. Perhaps we have some dim glimpse, some fleeting vision, of what it means to look to the things which are not seen; perhaps there flashes through our whole outward man, as from his other side, some intuition of the truth: "The things which are seen are temporal, but the things which are not seen are eternal." Perhaps our inward man dreams, as if he would soon awake. How should that be impossible? Perhaps our thought has already reached out to the unthinkable thought of God. So be it, for whatever we have of light and mercy in this our life, of grace and truth in this our world, we owe to this "perhaps," to that little power we have to stand by Paul's side "in Christ." How shall it be, then, when that "perhaps" becomes a certainty, when that "little" becomes "great"?

Am I a Christian?*

By MAHATMA GANDHI.

It has been a great pleasure and a matter of privilege to me to find myself in close touch, which is growing closer, with my Christian friends not merely in India, but I might almost say, throughout the world. Some of my Christian friends will not even take my flat denial when I tell them that I am not a Christian. And those of you who are familiar with the pages of "Young India" may know something of what I am obliged to say from time to time in connection with the inquiry of so many earnest Christian friends.

A Distorted Christianity — "Not This"

I feel that it will be perhaps better this evening to take a few minutes of our time in telling you where I really stand. It is a difficult thing and it is also an easy thing. So far as I myself am concerned, as I have said elsewhere, I believe in the message of Jesus as I understand it in "the Sermon on the Mount" unadulterated. My own humble interpretation of the message is in many respects different from the orthodox interpretation. I was given, when I was in Errawada Jail, a reasoned long letter addressed to their flock by the clergy. There they had given what I suppose must be considered an authoritative interpretation of "the Sermon on the Mount". When I was prematurely discharged from jail Charlie Andrews, than whom on this earth I do not own a closer friend, met me whilst I was convalescing at Juhu and placed another copy of this letter in my hands and asked me to deal with it. But I never found the time to do so, as something or other always cropped up which prevented me from undertaking the task that was imposed upon me by those friends. That letter lies buried in my papers and now I do not suppose that I shall even want to give my own answer to that letter. Nor do I propose this evening to go into the thing. But as pressing letters and inquiries even now continue to pour in upon me to explain what

* This article is reprinted from "Ceylon Men" the organ of the Y.M.C.A. in Ceylon and also appeared in the "Sphere" for April, 1928. The Editors of the "Student World" are responsible for the title.

I mean and where I stand, I thought that I would at this meeting take the opportunity of telling you the secret of how I stand and where my position lies. In my humble opinion the message of Jesus has suffered distortion in the West. It is a presumptuous thing I know on my part to say this thing before an audience of this character. But you will understand and appreciate my difficulty. When one finds oneself pressed on all sides by friends and critics, friendly and otherwise, in spite of one's great reluctance one is driven to coming out with the truth. I know that as a devotee of truth I should never hesitate to speak it out. In my diligent search after truth I have also come to see that to speak one's mind is not always relevant, that the world is not always eager to listen to what you might have to say. The world very often does not even care what you think or you don't think, and so I know that my telling you or telling anybody where I stand in connection with Christianity or any other faith is no concern of yours, no concern even of an audience like this. One's own religion is, after all, a matter between one's own self and one's own maker and no one else. But if I feel impelled and compelled to share this with you this evening it is because I want to enlist your sympathy in my search. I want to enlist your sympathy also for the cause for which I am living and for which I should love to die. Perhaps I cannot enlist your sympathy as well as I might if I don't lay all my cards on the table and let you understand what is at the back of my mind, in front of it, and on all sides of it, and so I thought that at this meeting I would just tell you where I stood. If then I am to face only the "Sermon on the Mount" and my own interpretation of it, I should unhesitatingly say, "Oh, Yes, I am a Christian". But I know that if at the present moment I said anything of such a nature, I should lay myself open to the grossest misinterpretation. I should lay myself open to a fraudulent claim, because I would have then to tell you my own meaning of Christianity. And I have no desire whatsoever to give you my own view of Christianity, but negatively I can tell you this much, that what to-day passes for Christianity is a negation of the "Sermon on the Mount". And please mark my words, I am not at the present moment concerned with Christian conduct. I am not at the present moment laying stress upon official Christianity, but upon what I have understood to be the content of Christianity as it is understood in the West apart from conduct. I am painfully aware of the fact that conduct falls short even of written profession, but I do not say this by way of criticism. I know, from my own

treasured experience, that my own conduct, trying as I am every moment of my life to live up to my profession, falls short of that profession. Far be it from me, therefore, to say this in any spirit of criticism. But I am placing before you these fundamental difficulties of mine. Some of you at least know that I have devoured Christian literature since 1891 or more fully since 1893, when fate cast me in the midst of those very fine Christians who belonged to the South African General Mission, where I saw Wesleyans, Presbyterians and a Quaker couple. I saw also some of the Plymouth Brethren. So you will understand that I had varied experience and they piled book upon book upon me. I was unprepared for this onslaught, but having been faithful to my friends, wanting always to accomodate friends, being always in need of accomodation myself, and, therefore, wanting also to please them if I could, I read those books for their sakes. It was, therefore, to me not a task but a pleasure that the thought of my reading those books prayerfully gave those friends of mine pleasure and satisfaction. So I read them and I had ample leisure then, of which I have none to-day, for such reading. I used to go out into the beautiful South African veldt unaccompanied by a single human being and there I used to read those books steadily. Then in the evenings, especially on Sundays, we all met under the hospitable roof of a Miss Harris belonging to this Mission. I used to place these difficulties before them. I read those books with the help, the powerful help of those friends. I went on, and they were pilots endeavouring to pilot me through, the shoals and dangerous rocks that lay ahead. They were always taking their soundings and asking me "Where are you now?" To this day that question has been addressed to me time after time, and I have been obliged to say in the words of the Vedas "Nithi, Nithi" the literal meaning of which is "Not this, not this". I have been obliged to say "Not this, not this. If this be Christianity, not this, not this." The deepest thing in me tells me that I am right.

One Truth and Many Voices.

I claim in all humility to be a man of prayer. For if I was cut up into pieces I think that God would give me strength not to deny Him, strength to assert that He is. This does not take us very far, for the Musulman says: "God is," and that He alone is. In Christian opinion, idolatrous as we may be described, the Hindu says the same thing. And if I may speak of the

Buddhist, I say in all humility that even he says the same thing. But unconsciously we all have a different meaning for this statement. A different interpretation of God, who embraces not only this fiery globe of ours, of which we know so horribly little, but of God who embraces millions of such globes of which we cannot even have a vague conception. We little crawling creatures, so utterly helpless as He has made us, how can we possibly measure His greatness, His strength, His boundless love, His compassion such that it allows a man who insolently denies His very existence to live, which allows men to wrangle about Him, which even allows men to cut the throats of their fellowmen, so forgiving, so divine, so compassionate is He.

Therefore, I understand that after all each one has his own particular religion. When these very names, Christianity, Islam, Hinduism, Buddhism may be blotted out — we may know these names by some other names — even then there will be that unwreckable bond between the Creator and the creature.

I ask every Christian friend of mine to make his own search. Let him square his own accounts with His Maker and let him leave me to square mine. I have also come to this conclusion, which is forcing itself upon me day after day, that if we will but recognise in all humility our limitations, we can come to the conclusion that we have each one of us one pupil too many, one soul too many to take care of, and that is our own selves. If we would but mind our own hearths, our own selves, place that house in order, use the body that is given to us for higher ends in the few years which are but moments and less than moments, in this huge great eternal time; if we would therefore make proper use of this body and treat it not as a receptacle for putting in all the rubbish that finds its way into it, but use it as the temple for God to reside in and for God to sit there on his throne and say, "You are a good door-keeper, you are guarding the entrance well," I say that we shall have done our duty and we, whether Hindus, Musulmans, Christians, Buddhists, Parsis or Jews, will have lived our life in full measure and God will be pleased with our conduct. That being so, I have urged upon my Christian missionaries who have come to the East to live their religion, to let it speak for itself. That to my mind will be the truest form of proselytising, that will be the truest form of Suddhi and then there will be no distrust, no suspicion, no quarrel, no wrangling.

A Warning to the West.

My mind, as I am talking to you this evening, and lay my heart bare before you, goes to China. I do not know that land, I wish I could help, but I cannot help. I have met several Chinese in Johannesburg. I have great regard for that great and ancient people and I think that they have yet a mission not merely for their own country, but for us. A Christian friend only the other day sent me a little pamphlet. It was prepared by the student departments of the Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A. in China. It is a recent publication and I think that it is intended principally for circulation amongst their Christian friends. It has been circulated in India also and as I am in touch with almost all Christian bodies now in India, and it is a special privilege I prize, I had this book passed on to me also. There are chapters written by very earnest, probably distinguished, Chinese young men, and each one has given his own reading of the hidden meaning of the movement that is going on in that country which is in the throes of a new birth. These writers have sought to put before their friends their own interpretation upon the unity of the anti-Christian movement, which has also cropped up in China. So far as I have gone through it, they say : " Do not consider this movement anti-Christian, it is against anti-nationalistic tendencies, inasmuch as Young China regards with disfavour any movement, any action or any person opposed to Chinese self-expression ". They are down upon it, and I think that these young men who write say also that there is considerable justification for it.

The truth or the deduction that I would like all to draw from this manifestation that is taking place in China is that those of you who are Ceylonese must not be impatient, and those of you who are from the West must not consciously or unconsciously lay violent hands upon the manners, habits and customs of the East in so far as they are not repugnant to or inconsistent with the fundamentals. I plead with you, let not the people of the East confuse the teaching of Jesus with what passes as modern civilisation or ancient civilisation. It is, I know, in the majority of cases unconscious, but all the same it is an unconscious violence done to the people in whose midst you cast your lives in obedience, I admit, to the voice of conscience, or as you will put it, the call of God. Let it be in obedience to that, but is it part of that call to tear the lives of the people of the East by their roots ? Tolerate whatever is good. Beware of your preconceived notions. Do not judge lest you may be judged yourselves. In spite of your belief

in western civilisation, in spite of your achievements in modern science, in which we cannot possibly imitate you, I plead with you for humility, and I ask you to leave some little room for doubt. After all, I think there was some truth in what Tennyson said in the last two lines of his "In Memoriam." I know that this is said of a different thing, but I am using that expression for my own purpose here, and if you will just a little doubt the reality of these achievements, — I know that you do not claim permanence for these achievements, — then if you will come with that prayerful doubt and say that what these men are doing may be right, let us see; if yours is the right life, yours is the right message, where is there any cause for hurry or waste? You live your lives in their midst and your lives speak for themselves.

An Appeal to the East.

To all the young men before me, to the Ceylonese friends, I say, do not be dazzled by the splendour that comes to you from the West. Do not let it turn off your feet by this passing show. The Enlightened One has told you in never-to-be-forgotten words, in his memorable words, that this little span of life is but a passing shadow, the fleeting thing, and, if you will realise the nothingness of all that appears before your eyes, the nothingness of the material world that we see before us, ever changing, then indeed there are treasures for you, there is peace and happiness for you to which we on this earth are utter strangers. It requires an amazing faith, a divine faith to surrender all that we see before us, and for what? for the search of a mere shadow, a mere nothing. You may put it that way, or you may say as did the great Buddha, when he had ample powers and a great kingdom growing under his very feet, a beautiful and faithful wife, a beautiful son growing day by day, nothing that he could possibly desire on this earth wanting to fill the cup of happiness up to the brim; he did reject that cup. He rejected that earthly happiness and parted from his truest one for the sake of a happiness of heart, but because he wanted a more permanent association and to share the whole of happiness, which he knew there was to be had by a man who would search through and through and who would die for it. If it is a glorious thing to scale the heights of Mount Everest and to sacrifice precious lives in order to be able to go there and make some slight observations — I deliberately call them slight, compared to this, — if it is a glorious thing to give

up life after life in planting a flag in the uppermost extreme points of the world, the North and the South Poles, much more glorious is it to give not one life, to surrender not a million lives, but a billion in search for that imperishable truth. So I say to the Christian young men and others — I know that this association has a majority of members who are Christians and so I thought I could not better appreciate your great kindness in inviting me here to-day than to deliver the important message exclusively to the Christians — and therefore I will say to the Ceylonese young men, do not be lifted off your feet, do not throw away the simplicity of your ancestors. I will tell that a time is coming when those who are to-day in their mad rush multiplying their wants and thinking that thereby they will add to the real substance, add to the real knowledge of the world, and also because they are sincerely inviting the whole world to share those pleasures which they call or miscall treasures ; a time is coming when they will themselves retrace their steps and say, " Oh, what have we done ? " Civilisations have come and gone. Where is Babylon and where is Assyria ? Where are all those beautiful buildings which the historians tell us they had erected ? Even in India they have made researches in Sind, they have excavated some beautiful buildings and they say our forefathers built those beautiful things just like they have in the streets of London. I am not the only man questioning these things. The great Wallace, the contemporary of Darwin, said the same thing. He said that after fifty years of brilliant inventions and discoveries of science, we have not added one inch to the moral height of mankind. So said a dreamer and a visionary, Tolstoy, who gave his life to that search ; so said also, as I consider, Jesus. So said Buddha — that he found his duty and so said Mohammed, the great Prophet, whose religion is to-day being defiled in my own country and falsified. He counted all these treasures of the earth as naught and so, I say to the young men, by all means drink in deep the fountains that are there given in the " Sermon on the Mount, " but then you will have to take up sackcloth and ashes. This advice was meant not only for the disciples, but also for you and me. You dare not serve God and Mammon, and what is going on before you is after all multiple editions of the cinematograph. Mammon is living in our midst, taking the name of God in vain. God embraces everything. He is compassionate. He is Rahiman. He is all-merciful, He is Truth. He is tolerance incarnate, and therefore He allows also to have his nine days wonder. So you, young men, will be true to yourselves if free

from that living but self-destroying and destructive show of Mammon. May God bless you to understand the spirit of the message that I have given you from the deepest recesses of my heart.

La Prière

par SUZANNE DE DIETRICH.

Nous n'entendons pas tenter ici une définition, encore moins une apologie de la prière. Semblable tentative dépasserait de beaucoup les cadres d'un article. Nous voudrions simplement considérer la prière en tant que fait, et que fait essentiel de la vie religieuse.

Le christianisme occidental du vingtième siècle, tout au moins sous ses formes protestantes, nous semble caractérisé par une fièvre d'activité où la dépense d'énergie, qui est considérable, apparaît singulièrement hors de proportion avec l'effet spirituel produit. A quoi tient cette inefficacité ? Ne serait-ce pas que nous avons perdu le secret de la véritable concentration spirituelle, hors de laquelle toute action n'est qu'agitation vaine ?...

L'action est le grand fétiche moderne ; elle est recherchée pour elle-même et l'on pourrait dire de beaucoup d'hommes et d'encore plus de femmes qu'ils se réfugient dans l'action comme Pascal accusait ses contemporains de se jeter dans l'aventurement, à seules fins de se fuir et faute de « savoir demeurer en repos dans une chambre ». Cette fièvre d'action entraîne dans son orbite la prière elle-même : celle-ci nous est fréquemment présentée comme « le levier de l'action » ; Dieu joue le rôle de protecteur de nos entreprises ; son intervention toute-puissante apparaît aux âmes simples comme un des facteurs de la réussite. Et le psychologue, plus subtil mais non moins utilitaire, voit dans la prière une mise en œuvre féconde d'énergies subconscientes. Dans l'un et l'autre cas la prière cesse d'avoir sa fin en elle-même ; elle est rabaissée à l'état de moyen et utilisée pour des fins humaines.

Une telle conception de la prière en profane l'essence et ne tarde point d'ailleurs à en tarir les sources. L'incompréhension dont témoignent beaucoup de libres-penseurs, et notamment beaucoup de jeunes, à l'égard de la prière ne provient-elle pas en partie d'une vue caricaturale de la prière qui tend à la présenter comme une perpétuelle requête, Dieu n'ayant, semble-t-il, d'autre fonction en ce monde que de satisfaire les fins particulières des hommes qui s'adressent à lui ? Etrange conception de la divinité ! Combien plus religieuse, si c'était là l'authentique prière chrétienne, l'attitude du musulman prosterné dans la

poussière, dans une soumission inconditionnelle à la volonté toute puissante d'Allah !

Nous ne nions certes point que la demande n'ait sa place dans la vie de prière véritable, et nous aurons l'occasion d'y revenir. Mais la prière chrétienne, comme tout acte de culte véritable, a sa fin non en l'homme mais en Dieu. Elle est dans son essence, un acte d'adoration et d'offrande, le tribut d'amour que l'âme croyante apporte à son Dieu ; son but ultime n'est point la satisfaction de nos désirs humains, ni même notre salut, mais la gloire divine. Elle ne vise pas tant l'exaucement de l'homme que, si j'ose dire, l'exaucement de Dieu : « Que ton Nom soit sanctifié, Que Ton Règne vienne, Que Ta Volonté soit faite »... Dieu : Dieu cherché, aimé, voulu, servi pour Lui-même, telle est la fin de toute prière authentique ; hors de cette attitude, nous ne cherchons, aimons et voulons que nous-mêmes et, en réalité, nous ne prions plus, — ou nous ne prions que nous-mêmes.

La religion chrétienne est un mystère d'amour : « Dieu a tant aimé le monde qu'il a donné son Fils unique, afin que quiconque croit en lui ne périsse point mais qu'il ait la vie éternelle ». Par la prière, le croyant entre dans ce mystère d'amour ; il en fait l'objet de ses méditations, de sa contemplation, de ses actions de grâces ; il prend conscience des trésors de grâces, de pardon et de force que Dieu lui communique en Jésus-Christ ; il se donne à son tour ; il s'associe aux fins que Dieu poursuit dans le monde ; il adhère à cette Volonté qui le cherche et le veut. Il ne s'agit plus ici ni d'exaucer le caprice de l'homme ni de se soumettre avec résignation à des décrets immuables. Dieu apparaît comme le Grand Vivant qui fait œuvre de vie et associe sa créature à son œuvre. « Vous êtes collaborateurs de Dieu » ; mot hardi, mot fou de toute la sublime folie du christianisme : l'amour infini s'abaissant jusqu'à solliciter l'adhésion de sa créature, jusqu'à ne rien vouloir lui arracher par la contrainte, jusqu'à ne rien pouvoir en elle et par elle qu'avec son libre consentement.

Dans cette « métaphysique de la générosité »¹ la prière apparaît comme le facteur non seulement fécond mais indispensable de la réalisation des fins divines. Elle initie l'âme aux desseins de Dieu, à ce qu'il se propose en elle et par elle ; par elle l'âme est admise « dans le conseil de Dieu ».²

Il est donc dans toute prière comme un double mouvement, de l'âme vers Dieu et de Dieu dans l'âme ; l'âme offre ses louanges,

¹ Le mot est du Père Laberthonnière.

² Calvin.

ses actions de grâces, elle s'offre elle-même « en sacrifice vivant et saint », et Dieu en retour se révèle à elle, l'initie progressivement aux mystères de la vie spirituelle, à son plan rédempteur ; étant une relation d'amour, la prière chrétienne n'est pas complète si elle n'implique un don de part et d'autre : à la consécration de l'homme correspond la grâce efficace de Dieu, en telle sorte qu'elles s'engendrent l'une l'autre et collaborent de façon indissoluble et mystérieuse, et que l'on peut dire tout à la fois que les grâces que nous recevons sont la réponse de Dieu à nos efforts de fidélité, et que notre prière elle-même est déjà une grâce, impossible sans une action préalable de Dieu...

Dieu offre à l'âme qui le cherche deux moyens essentiels de le connaître : la contemplation assidue de Jésus-Christ et l'assistance de l'Esprit. Si notre propos était de faire un exposé dogmatique de la prière, nous nous plairions à souligner ici combien dans toute prière chrétienne la réalité de la Trinité devient en quelque sorte tangible. C'est à Dieu, notre Père, que monte notre prière ; c'est à Lui que va l'hommage de notre obéissance, c'est de Lui que procède « tout don parfait », mais Jésus-Christ y apparaît à la fois comme objet de notre contemplation — car où contemplerions-nous Dieu sinon en Jésus-Christ ? comment prendrions-nous conscience de notre vocation d'homme sinon en Jésus-Christ ? — et comme indispensable médiateur ; et notre prière n'atteint son but, ne trouve, si je puis ainsi parler, sa formule, la ferveur de désir nécessaire à son exaucement, que par l'assistance du Saint-Esprit qui, selon le mot de St-Paul, dicte lui-même à notre esprit ce que nous devons demander.

Abandonnée à elle-même, notre prière tend à suivre la ligne de moindre résistance, c'est-à-dire la pente de nos préoccupations personnelles ; son champ de vision se rétrécit ; de théocentrique elle devient égocentrique ; d'universaliste elle devient individuelle ; que de fois ne nous sommes-nous pas crus humbles alors que nos humiliations mêmes n'étaient encore que subtile recherche de nous-mêmes ! désintéressés, alors que nous n'avions point pris soin de nous assurer que la cause embrassée par nous de toute la force de notre vouloir et de notre désir était bien celle de Dieu ! Pour soustraire notre prière aux impulsions du sentiment une discipline spirituelle est nécessaire ; la récitation des psaumes, l'usage des prières liturgiques peuvent être d'un grand secours ; l'oraison dominicale nous donne à jamais le cadre et le rythme de la prière chrétienne normale où la requête personnelle s'insère dans une solidarité consentie et voulue avec tous les hommes, et constitue en quelque sorte la mineure de l'oraison, la venue du

Règne, l'accomplissement de la volonté divine en restant la dominante. Mais c'est par-dessus tout dans la méditation (non discursive mais priée) de l'Evangile, dans l'évocation de la vie du Christ que la prière devra sans cesse s'alimenter.

Certains auteurs recommandent que l'âme s'exerce à contempler chaque jour quelque aspect de la figure du Christ ; ainsi peu à peu l'effigie du Maître se marque dans l'être du disciple ; celui-ci s'imprègne de sa présence : « nous tous qui, le visage découvert, contemplons comme dans un miroir la gloire du Seigneur, nous sommes transportés de gloire en gloire, comme par le Seigneur, l'Esprit ». L'âme qui contemple, s'objective ; elle s'initie à ce que Dieu est, à ce que Dieu veut. Et lorsqu'ensuite, son regard se reporte sur le monde qui l'entoure, et sur elle-même, elle parvient à juger les choses et les hommes non plus du point de vue de l'homme naturel mais du point de vue de Dieu. C'est sans doute de ce jugement purifié par la contemplation et la prière que Paul pouvait dire : « L'homme spirituel juge de tout et n'est jugé par personne¹ ».

Et l'âme ainsi dépouillée d'elle-même, docile aux inspirations de l'Esprit, sait que demander et peut demander avec assurance. Sa volonté s'étant unie à la volonté divine, un discernement nouveau lui est donné de ce que Dieu attend d'elle ; elle devient entre les mains de Dieu un instrument d'intercession ; antenne mystérieuse par laquelle les ondes de la grâce divine passent pour atteindre d'autres âmes en travail.

Certaines écoles activistes se plaisent volontiers à opposer le mystique et l'homme d'action ; en réalité les faits démentent

¹ Le « tiers-ordre protestant » des Veilleurs, fondé par le Past. Wilfred Monod propose à ses membres une discipline spirituelle comportant la recrudescence organisée des pratiques. Le Past. Bouttier dans un livre récemment paru, *la Semaine du Chrétien*, propose aux croyants une discipline de prière dans laquelle un aspect de la figure du Christ est proposé chaque jour à la contemplation du fidèle ; le rythme suggéré est le suivant : acte de présence, contemplation, adoration, acte de foi, louanges et intercession. Ces efforts et plus encore l'écho qu'ils éveillent chez les jeunes manifestent le besoin de restaurer dans la mystique protestante française, un élément d'adoration et de contemplation aussi bien que de discipline qui lui a trop souvent fait défaut.

Nous assistons au même moment, dans la littérature catholique, à une véritable floraison d'édicions ascétiques et mystiques de vies de saints, à une recrudescence de vocations contemplatives. Ainsi s'affirment, au moment même où notre civilisation matérialiste atteint son apogée, les besoins éternels de l'âme humaine, les exigences de la vie surnaturelle qui refuse de perdre ses droits.

cette opposition ; que l'on relise l'histoire des grands fondateurs d'ordre, celle des Réformateurs et dans les temps modernes celle d'un Blumhardt ou d'un Georges Muller. « L'amour du Christ nous presse », disait St-Paul ; l'authentique mysticisme chrétien ne saurait jamais dissocier l'amour pour Dieu de l'amour des hommes ; mais il sait qu'aimer les hommes en Dieu est le seul moyen de les aimer efficacement, c'est-à-dire d'un amour qui sauve ; il sait que l'âme qui prie acquiert de ce fait un discernement spirituel qui donne à son action une continuité, une sûreté qu'aucune sagesse humaine ne lui conférerait jamais ; il sait que dans une vie conduite par l'Esprit, une *vie priée*, rien n'est laissé au hasard, et que les actes les plus insignifiants en apparence s'y trouvent souvent avoir une portée providentielle prévue de Dieu seul...

Il sait enfin que par delà le monde des apparences il est des forces surnaturelles de vie et de mort qui s'affrontent ; que toute âme constitue un centre de vouloirs et de désirs, et participe par le simple fait qu'elle veut, qu'elle aime à ces mystérieux combats ; et qu'il appartient au croyant de combattre dans l'invisible, avec les armes surnaturelles de l'Esprit, les combats de Dieu contre les puissances de ténèbres ; que si tout combat de l'esprit demande à être préparé par la prière, il est des domaines où la prière seule est efficace, des résistances qu'elle seule peut vaincre, et qu'enfin les victoires de Dieu ne se préparent, ne se consomment et ne portent tous leurs fruits que dans et par l'Esprit.

Ainsi la prière n'est point simplement une préparation à l'action ; ni un acte entre beaucoup d'autres ; elle est l'acte par excellence de la vie religieuse, celui par lequel l'âme agit de Dieu travaille à surnaturaliser le monde, préparant selon ses moyens le jour où « Dieu sera tout en tous », où la prière sacerdotale du Christ trouvera son accomplissement.

What the "Quaker Spirit" has Meant for Germany.

A Study in "Practical Christianity."

By EMIL FUCHS.

(Translated from the German)

In 1918 the German people found itself isolated, surrounded by nations which felt it their duty to keep it powerless, since it was Germany which, in their eyes, was responsible for the war. There was a brief flicker of hope after the Revolution; Wilson's fourteen points would be the foundation for the peace conditions. Then came the cruel disappointment — a peace based entirely on the short-sighted interests and will to power of the victors.

It was true then — such was the conclusion arrived at by millions — the spirit of force ruled the world, and for Germany there was only one hope — to become strong again, and win back her freedom in war. A wild flame of hatred ran through the country, not only against the foreign oppressor but still more against those in Germany itself who stood for peace and reconciliation. Rathenau fell a victim to this hatred, born of despair, and countless numbers amongst the people suffered bitterly under its effects.

The Triumph Over Hate.

And then people's attention began to be more and more drawn to the work of a few quiet men and women. They came from the nations whom we regarded as our implacable foes, and brought food to our starving children; gradually we began to look to them for help, and when we were faced with a case of peculiar distress, and had no help to give, then we turned to the Quakers, who were always ready to offer us their untiring goodwill, the advice of experienced men and women, their connections all over the world.

Confronted by their efforts, hatred died away. Here was the living proof that the "enemy" peoples were not merely hostile, that the power of conscience was alive amongst them and was

working to fashion the world anew according to its laws. The work of the Quakers shook many prejudices, and many were forced by it to examine more deeply the question of hate and force. And perhaps the greatest gain of all was that those of us in Germany who believed in peace, justice, the power of conscience amongst all peoples, and wished to base our views and our policy on this belief, found in this work the strengthening factor which we so much needed in the terrible loneliness in which we found ourselves.

There were times when for many of us the silent worship of the Quaker meeting was the only expression of fellowship, the only sign that the belief in the coming of God's Kingdom, and the duty of preparing for it, was still accepted by many people in all lands. It had an extraordinary effect upon us, in the midst of the wild surge of hate, to be there with men and women from England, America, France, Holland, and to be conscious of the fellowship which binds together members of all the warring races in response to the appeal of the Divine Love.

The work of the Quakers in Germany was a deciding element in the fact that in those days courage did not entirely die out in Germany, that the effort to create peace and understanding went on, and that to-day the overwhelming majority of the German people are free from the spirit of hate and solid for the policy of peace.

The Sense of Social Responsibility.

For Germany, the war had meant a terrible time of hunger ; after the war the blockade and the inflation period prolonged this time of suffering for countless numbers. But at the same time the war and the inflation gave to speculators and profiteers the possibility of a much more rapid increase in wealth. And whilst one section of the people in terrible misery saw their children pining away before their eyes, another section lived in foolish and ostentatious luxury and extravagance. And whilst the German profiteer and the German speculator were giving vent to their patriotism in tirades and the stirring up of hate against the enemy, the " Friends " came, messengers from the " enemy " peoples, Quakers from England and America, and organised the feeding of the children and assistance to the " new poor, " those living on invested money, who had suddenly been plunged from comfort into bitterest poverty and helplessness. It was a

striking example of the responsibility of men for their fellows, which was so terribly lacking at that time in the German people, deeply shaken as it was by the war and the revolution. Or rather, there was no central point round which it could concentrate and develop into an active force.

This central point was provided by the work of the Quakers, at the moment of our deepest despondency, a point to which all could look and towards which all could turn who were conscious of this responsibility for their fellow men and wished to work in that spirit. From this focal point proceeded a force that aroused men's consciences and combatted the wild spirit of despair that fights only for itself, forgetful of others. The Quakers showed us clearly how terrible a thing it is when members of the same nation live forgetful of each other, some enjoying comfort and happiness, whilst others are plunged in misery together with their families. The work of the Quakers was one of the forces most instrumental in arousing and stimulating in the German people that sense of responsibility, then endangered and decaying, without which no people can live, still less recover from such a state of ruin and disorganisation as then prevailed.

Towards International Understanding.

And this same Quaker spirit found courage not merely to send its messengers to us in our unhappy state, but to remind us of our duties towards others. At once it brought us together with men and women of those nationalities between whom and ourselves the barrier was highest — the French, the Poles, etc.~ It seemed a bold thing to do, it seemed almost impossible, and yet it was the right path to follow, to appeal to our full sense of responsibility, to point out to the Germans that they, in virtue of their position in the centre of Europe, in virtue of their difficult situation itself, were called to a great work of reconciliation and peace. And the Quakers, as they brought the peoples of the different nations into personal contact, and told the Germans about France and the French about Germany, began also to try to arouse an understanding for the rights of the scattered minorities. How much have not the Quakers contributed to the understanding and respect shown towards the German minority in Poland, and towards the small fragment of the Polish and Danish peoples still to be found in Germany.

And if a new spirit of understanding is coming into being, the work of the Quakers has had a large share in creating it; those small conferences of fifteen, twenty, thirty people of different nationalities, held on the frontiers, unnoticed, unobtrusive, helped to start the movement which is now becoming more and more definitely embodied in great plans for international understanding and has attained the dimensions of a political force.

The Appeal to the Workers.

The Church, Christianity itself, have for centuries in Germany been dominated by a one-sided state idea. The Church and Christianity were looked upon as forces which supported the State; they worked in favour of the existing social order. The existing balance of power within the State, the existing subordination of those who served to the rulers and the possessing class, the " spirit of the subject " proper to a monarchist State, military obedience and authority, were sacred in the eyes of the Church and of Christianity, as elsewhere. The result was that the classes which suffered under the oppression of the existing social order, and above all, the masses of the workers, grew embittered not only against the social order itself and the State and the prevailing distribution of power, but also against the Church, against Christianity and against religion. In Germany atheism and materialism spread through the masses as forces of liberation from a creed which seemed to imply subjection to the State and the ruling classes and exploitation of labour. Men had grown entirely deaf to the divine challenge to love for man, respect for human dignity, justice. The highest point of this tendency was reached when the Church allowed itself to glide unprotestingly with the rest of the country into the war, neither saying nor feeling that to do so was a sin against the command of God. The result of all this was that it was at that time impossible in Germany to speak of Christianity or religion to a gathering of workers without raising a storm of hatred and abuse.

Then came the Quakers, with their work of love, the strong sense of responsibility for others which made itself felt in their activities, the fact that these men and women had not adopted the war mentality, that they stood boldly out against the post-war spirit of hate. The Quaker feeding campaign, all that the Quakers did, became in the eyes of the masses worthy of love and respect. In it they came once more into contact with a spirit that felt itself responsible to God for all its actions, for its

fellow-men, for the acts and policy of its people. It became possible once more to speak in popular assemblies of Christianity and religion with the certainty of being listened to, especially if one began by telling of the work of the Quakers, and why they did it. That work undoubtedly contributed much to the reawakening, amongst the masses of the German workers, of an interest in Christian thought and piety; it became clear to men that the Church, official Christianity, were not religion. Religion is something different. Confined at first to small circles, the movement towards religious socialism began to develop, and is winning an ever-increasing importance in the whole German Labour Movement.

The Quakers and the Future of Germany.

The Quakers as such form only a small circle in Germany, but round them and in contact with them is the larger circle of those who, engaged in the most varied forms of activity, are able to pass on to wider spheres what they have received from the Quaker spirit. But these two circles are not what matters most. They were bound to remain small in numbers, for the dislocated Germany of to-day has vast and countless problems to solve, and these demand from her citizens all their strength and skill, so that they have neither time nor force for other effort. But the important point is that, when men and women in Germany to-day strive to grapple with these pressing problems they come upon the effects of the work of the Quakers. What Germany received at their hands lives on as a power, in her institutions, in the tasks with which she is confronted, in the practical endeavours which are being made to carry out those tasks. And wherever men and women in Germany to-day are struggling with the great and all-important problems of our people's future, they find themselves working in that spirit of responsibility for others, which came to conscious life in Germany in some sort in connection with the work of the Quakers. We do not yet know what conscious and individual form and expression this spirit will one day take. It is labouring and struggling with the tasks before it, and the form which it takes will be determined by this struggle. But whatever the form may be, it will always look back with gratitude and a sense of kinship to the spirit and essence of the work of the Quakers, which called it into life and strengthened it in the decisive hour of greatest suffering and distress.

The "Christu-Kula-Ashram"

An Experiment in Christian Community Life.

By E. FORRESTER-PATON.

The "Ashram" Idea.

The idea of a community setting themselves apart for a life of religious worship, devotion, meditation, is found in some of the earliest traditions of religion in India. Men, impelled by the sense of God as the one enduring reality and by their longing to experience more of Him, withdrew from the distractions of common life (sometimes alone, sometimes with their families) and settled down in little groups far away in the forest or by some river side. Here they lived in the simplest possible way, devoting all their energies to the quest for God. Such hermitages were called ashrams. Some of these became noted as places where the peace and joy of the presence of God could be 'felt', and so, attracted to them by this fact and by the fame of some saintly religious teacher or 'Guru,' young men would leave their homes to spend several years as the disciples of the guru, who would live and move with them in closest intimacy treating them as his own children, and sharing with them his knowledge and religious experience. So the 'Guru-Kula' or 'Family of the Guru' arose.

There has been a recent movement in India to revive this ancient ideal and adapt it to more modern needs. Many must have heard of "Shantineketan," Dr. Tagore's ashram, and of Mr. Gandhi's ashram at Sabaramati. Recently several groups of Christians also have been trying to glorify Christ by starting such ashrams, and of these our little group at Tirupattur, which we call "Christu-Kula-Ashram" (Family-of-Christ Ashram) is one.

The actual beginning of this ashram was made only seven years ago, but the thoughts which inspired it grew up from a friendship formed in 1915 between Dr. Jesudason and myself (I being but a medical student at the time) and we also look forward to its growing, and to other groups being formed out of similar friendships. One of us had found much inspiration from the life of St. Francis of Assisi, and for the other there was the longing to identify himself with the people to whom he felt called

to commend the gospel of Christ. But it was something far deeper than merely a similarity of ideals which drew us together as friends, and that, we feel, was the love of Christ.

The Basis of the Experiment.

The basis for our life as a community we conceived under three heads :

First, faith in, and devotion to Jesus Christ. It is our purpose to live a life of dependence on God as revealed in Him, and to let Him work out His purposes in and through us. In Him there is neither East nor West, and so we seek that members of different nationalities, cultures and communities in their common devotion to Him may be united in our group. In this way, in a world torn asunder by racial animosities, we strive to witness that Christ is the one in whom all may be brought together. Thus the joyful co-operation in the service of the Kingdom of those of different races and nationalities on the basis of friendship in Jesus Christ, is the first ideal which we have been seeking to work out in the life of the Ashram. As a corollary to this came the sense of the tragedy of all the denominational differences among the servants of the Kingdom. We have experienced the extraordinary oneness and fellowship in spiritual things that exists among men seeking after God, quite independent of their particular profession or creed. Therefore we ask for no creedal test, but only that those with us may share in a common devotion to our one Lord, and in serving Him. We also realise that the "Inner light" illumines many honest souls that have not named the name of Christ, and such also we welcome to come and share in following the Light that shineth more and more unto the perfect day.

A Fellowship of Intercession.

Our worship is very simple, and usually includes some period of silent waiting upon God. We also realise that variety is necessary to suit different temperaments. Thus in the early morning at 5 a.m. we meet and sing together one or more Indian chants of adoration and aspiration. Then, after a short silence and the Lord's Prayer, we separate for the morning period of individual study, meditation and prayer, during which time we all try to help one another by observing silence. Then before morning

food we have a time of united devotional study of the Bible. At midday we are called together again from our various activities for a short time of united intercession, as a guide to which different general topics are chosen for each day of the week. We also observe evening " Sandhya " — that is, the time between the setting of the sun and the appearing of the stars, set apart for individual meditation and worship. Often as we sit alone in the cool of the evening, watching the splendours of the sunset and the deepening tints on hill and cloud, all nature seems to move us to praise and adoration ; and when, at times, we have been disturbed by the strivings and turmoil of the day, God speaks His word of peace in our hearts. Then, at night, before we separate for rest, we have a hymn and parting prayer together. So far concerning the devotional side of our life.

A Sharing of Life and Service.

Love 'one to another we take as the second guiding principle of our common life. Often it is far easier to love those whom we seek to serve than just joyfully to bear and share with our comrades in the daily round, and grow at the same time in mutual love and understanding ; and for lack of this very thing how many great and noble undertakings have been marred ! This growing love, we felt, must spring from a growing experience of that wonderful suffering love of Christ which is moving us so much. We seek to express our unity and love by sharing in common our worldly goods, and by our common meals together, and by our willingness to help one another in every possible way.

Many have been coming to share with us in the life and work for a period, whose family or other circumstances, however, made it impossible for them to adopt this as a permanent way of life ; we call them " volunteers. " It is upon these that our little group has been largely dependent, and it is by them (most of them young men) that the greater part of the service has been carried on, and the family life been enriched. Whilst they are with us they share all the life and activities of the family, which on its part makes all necessary provision for them according to our simple way of life.

The " Rule " of the Ashram.

Those who desire to become permanent members are expected to stay with us for a preliminary period of three years, so that

we may be able to grow in friendship and understanding of one another, and that they may find out whether the Ashram life is God's call for them. At present it is only Dr. Jesudason and I who have definitely committed ourselves to the Ashram as a life work. As permanent members, we give up all private property, in whatever way seems best to each (i.e. to relatives or to any others who may require help, or to the Ashram itself, all money so received being put into the common fund); and also we agree to remain unmarried. These are not steps to be lightly undertaken, but we felt that they are necessary for the fullest and deepest growth of the Christu-Kula life in the Ashram.

We have also been greatly cheered by many visitors, who have helped us in various ways. Many young men also have come to us during their school or college vacation, either to assist us in the activities of the Ashram, or to receive inspiration for their future usefulness in life.

The common fund above referred to is also replenished from freewill offerings from those specially interested in the Ashram (but we seek to avoid any advertising for funds); also from thank-offerings from patients, and to a certain extent from the produce of our agricultural work. This fund meets all our household expenses, as well as the cost of buildings, and the equipment and running expenses of the hospital, school, and any other forms of service we undertake. We have had no difficulties so far through lack of funds.

A simple way of life in dress and food comes almost naturally, and especially so as we are living in the midst of villagers, whose simplicity of living (two very meagre meals a day is all that most of them can afford) is out of dire necessity. Our common meals (for which we all sit down on the floor and eat with our fingers in simple Indian style) are often times of much good-humoured laughter and fun; and how much a keen sense of humour does to help us on in life! We had hoped in the beginning to do without paid servants altogether, and we still hope that some brothers may come who will feel it their call to do the cooking, or the washing of the clothes or even the scavenging (as, by the way, they do in Mr. Gandhi's Ashram); but up to now we have been obliged to have paid servants for these duties.

A Service of Love.

Love to one another is intimately bound up with the service of our neighbours (the villagers) which we take to be the third

leading motive for our lives. To Jesus we look to learn that spontaneous, self-forgetting and truly humble service, and that love which sees and understands the heart-aches of others, and can meet their deepest need. And it is through such service that we feel we can best commend His love to others.

Being both medical men we have a fairly well-equipped hospital with about 28 beds. In tending the sick, those who have a very simple training and even such as have none at all, can co-operate with those who are medically qualified; the one essential thing being the "feeling heart." Often those engaged in the simpler tasks of cleaning wards or attending to the needs and comforts of patients or dressing their wounds, can by their individual love and care bear a more effective witness than the doctors. Undertaken in this spirit, the most menial task becomes honourable and can be done with joy. In order to work out this ideal we have often had to carry on the healing work without any thoroughly trained assistance, as we feel there is something greater than mere "efficiency." It is an essential part of our healing work to tell the patients and their friends of the hope which we have in Christ and of *His* power to heal and save, and we also, on occasion, pray with them individually and especially before surgical operations. Every evening we meet for prayer with, and on behalf of, the in-patients, when we also tell them the story of Christ; but it is the individual talks which have been most helpful in influencing some of them. We have also seen how wonderfully patients have recovered as a result of prayer in spite of our inability to do much for them.

The agricultural work had to be developed (though so far we have had no agricultural expert) owing to the urgent need occasioned by the poverty and unemployment of the villagers around us. It is often hunger and low vitality that make our medical work doubly difficult. So we have a farm, with two good wells sunk by the labour of the villagers themselves, and this provides work for at least some of our poor neighbours. Every morning we have a service for them with a short address, before they begin their field work.

Seeking the True Approach to India.

A school was started for the poor children of the neighbourhood three years ago, since when it has progressed considerably. The medium of instruction is Tamil — their own mother tongue.

Our aim is to make this a vocational school, and already weaving has been introduced and also agriculture. We have in addition a small orphanage, the children living in the ashram in a little cottage called "Balya Veedu" (Children's Home).

We have been earnestly seeking to express our life and service in this Ashram in a way that will make Christianity more intelligible to the people of India, where, for so long, a deeply foreign tinge has been given to it, both in the churches and in the lives of the Christians. We have also been trying to bring about a home and a fellowship into which men called of God from other lands can come to India, not in the patronising attitude of teachers and leaders, but in humility seeking to learn and to serve along with Indian brothers, as well as to impart to others what they have been taught of God. We wait in faith that He who has begun this will also make it grow in conformity with His will.

Book Reviews.

REALITY. *B.H. Streeter. Macmillan 8s. 6d.*

The welcome which has been accorded to Canon Streeter's book, both by the reviewers, and by the more thoughtful section of the reading public generally, leaves little doubt that the attempt which he has made to find "a new conotation of science and religion" has met a widely felt need. His success in doing so is probably due in no small measure to the frank and intimate way in which he has taken his readers into his confidence in the introduction which lays bare the motive underlying the writing of the book.

In it he describes his search for an intellectual basis for his own religious faith, since to him, as to many others in this generation, "religion in its mystical, emotional or practical expression was... of little value, if divorced from intellectual integrity." The following chapters set forth "the position in which my own mind has found rest after thirty years of search."

Unlike most of the older books on apologetics, this is not a "defence of Christianity." It does not ask the question "Is Christianity true?" but sets out to investigate the nature of the universe in which we find ourselves, which presents to us so many questions speculative and practical. In this examination of the phenomena presented by life itself, the evidence of religion as a factor in human history, and of the life of Christ as a factor in religion, are found to be peculiarly significant. We thus come round from an investigation of the questions which any adequate view of the nature of reality must help us to answer, to the investigation of the Christian view as satisfying that test.

The enquiry naturally starts from the interpretation of reality which has exercised so powerful an influence in English thought since the middle of last century — the materialistic, and increasingly mechanistic standpoint of physical science. An acute examination of this view reveals the fact that on the one hand it is being steadily undermined by the more searching analysis of its own internal development, while on the other it is discredited by its failure to do justice to the other and equally significant method of interpreting reality, the method of art and religion, which may be described as qualitative in distinction to the essentially quantitative method of science.

From this there emerges a theory of knowledge to which, in

its fully elaborated form, Canon Streeter would be inclined to give the name of Bi-Representationism, the theory that the true nature of reality can only be apprehended in so far as we approach it armed with both methods of interpretation, the scientific, which gives us "the Baedeker's guide map" of Venice, and the artistic-religious, which gives us "the Turner painting" of the same.

Having thus indicated the validity of the qualitative interpretation, the author proceeds to ask whether we are justified in seeing in the life-principle, without which even the mechanistic system of the universe remains dead and inoperative, that same source of vitality which religion, by an anthropomorphic personification, which is at least as legitimate as the mechanomorphism of science, discovers to us as God.

The argument of these earlier chapters is valuable, especially for a generation which is inclined to accept the alleged conclusions of physical science as verbally inspired. But it is in two later chapters on "The Christ" and "The Defeat of Evil" that in our judgment the book reaches its high watermark. The former of these increases in those who know the solid basis of scholarship which he has laid in *The Four Gospels*, the desire that Canon Streeter should some day embark upon the task of writing a Life of Christ. Alike in the estimate of what constitutes the uniqueness of his character, and in the "symbolic" interpretation of doctrine, which finds in that character "the haunting quality of seeming to be the expression of something universal, the mirror of the Infinite," there is material here which might well be expanded into a great piece of work.

The second of these two chapters, "The Defeat of Evil" is as sound and valuable a treatment of the two problems of evil and suffering as can be found anywhere in such short compass. Its wholesome refusal to be drawn into the false sentimentalism which springs from an identification of evil and suffering, gives it a strength and sanity which are refreshing. And at the same time its unmistakable basis in a personal experience of conflict, and a valiant overcoming of it, prevent the treatment from ever becoming coldly abstract.

For those who are embarking upon a study of the searching questions set forth in the questionnaire prepared for the India meeting of the Federation Committee, *Reality* can well be recommended as providing a real contribution to their thought.

F.A.C.

DOES CIVILIZATION NEED RELIGION. By Reinhold Niebuhr, Macmillan, pp. 242, \$ 2.00.

It is an intoxicating experience to come upon an interpretation of religious truth that convinces one by its own intrinsic merit as being an authentic word for his generation. I confess to such intoxication on reading Reinhold Niebuhr's "Does Civilization Need Religion." Dr. Niebuhr is an American. He writes against the background of American industrial society out of his experience as a pastor for twelve years in the city of Detroit. His primary interest is in estimating the survival value of religion and the resources of religion in the presence of that type of civilization. But the issues with which Dr. Niebuhr deals are not peculiar to America nor even to the Anglo-Saxon world. They are issues which confront the Christian Community in every Protestant land where industrialism has become the dominant force in shaping the course of civilization.

More important than the appearance of "Does Civilization Need Religion" is the fact of Reinhold Niebuhr. He represents something new in the religious life of America. His outlook cannot be stamped either "fundamentalist" or "modernist." He does not fit any of the current labels that have been applied by the rest of the world to American theology or lack of theology. He is as new in the spiritual firmament of the United States as Karl Barth has been in the spiritual firmament of Germany. There is some outward resemblance between these two men — their youth, their love of paradox, the rapier sharpness of their minds, their moral passion. All this can probably be explained by their common racial inheritance. But the similarity does not seem to extend much further. To Barth's "There is no way from man to God, but there is a way from God to man" Niebuhr might reply "If there is a way from God to man there must also be a way from man to God." But whereas Barth's supreme interest is in theological restatement, Niebuhr's supreme interest is in ethical recovery. He applies himself to discover the conditions under which religion can operate redemptively in modern society and concludes that the first condition is that religion itself should recover its ethical sincerity and intelligence.

Niebuhr looks out on the Protestant world and finds the Christian Community religiously impotent before the forces of civilization. This impotence is due to the fact that the Reformation left the individual with a keen conscience about his personal affairs and with a strategy for saving his own soul but with little

conscience for society and with no strategy for redeeming the individual in his social relationships. This fatal weakness was further confirmed by the sentimentalism of the 18th century and the individualism of the 19th century. In the presence of a developed industrial society such a religion is oblivious of its primary tasks, and lingers on as a soothing spiritual retreat for the respectable middle classes, whom it supplies with a rational justification for their faith but with no moral dynamic or strategy to make their faith socially effective. In the midst of an impersonal civilization true religion stands as the one guarantee of personality. To save personality threatened by such a civilization religion needs a metaphysic which guards the concept of personality in the universe, but such a metaphysic will be of little use "if the moral fruits which issue from its affirmations and experiences do not actually qualify the brute struggle of life, so largely determined by natural forces."

As opposed to the monistic and even pantheistic trends in the Western churches Niebuhr asserts the necessity of adhering to a provisional dualism in which God is recognised as at work upon the natural order but without being identified with the natural order or lost in it. In such a dualism religious values themselves are seen to be relative.

But how are the resources of religion to become socially effective? At this point Niebuhr has much in common with Julien Benda. The latter indicts the intellectuals for identifying themselves with particularistic interests. The former makes the same charge against the religious leaders. They both regard "detachment" as the only hope for recovering discredited positions. Niebuhr sees that the forces of religion must make a strategic retreat from the world in order to be able to deal more effectively with the world. He suggests that a new asceticism will be necessary to give religion the moral authority required to deal with the avarice and pride characteristic of modern civilization, but he makes it perfectly plain that he is not thinking of either "puritan or monastic asceticism." "The new asceticism must be in the world but not of the world," and those who practise it must learn to combine sentiment with intellectual acumen, to be at the same time idealists and realists, as wise as serpents and as harmless as doves. It is only so that ethical integrity can be restored to religion, and that the values of religion which are essentially extra-rational can be conserved to furnish dynamic to moral effort.

This is in brief Reinhold Niebuhr's thesis. His analysis of

the *malaise* of contemporary Protestantism represents brilliant scholarship as well as profound spiritual insight. Though indebted to both Weber and Tawney, his own intimate experience of Protestantism, as it lives and thrives in a great metropolis, is obviously the main source of his material.

Dr. Niebuhr has just accepted a chair at Union Theological Seminary, New York. This will provide him with an exceptional opportunity to continue his work as a maker of the "New Reformation". He has a great responsibility, but there is every reason to believe that he will be equal to it.

F.P.M.

LE MYSTÈRE DE JÉSUS. Par P.L. Couchoud. F. Rieder et C^{ie}, Paris
1 vol., 117 pp.

Il y a cinq ou six ans une série d'articles sur le sujet de ce livre parus dans le « *Mercur de France* » avait provoqué une vaste discussion théologique, exégétique et historique dans les plus grandes revues de France. Celui qui avait déclenché le mouvement, le D^r P.L. Couchoud créa peu de temps après, aux Editions Rieder, une série intitulée « *Christianisme* » qui compte déjà une vingtaine de volumes dus, en partie, aux tenants de la critique la plus radicale du Nouveau Testament.

La thèse de notre auteur est qu'il faut choisir entre le christianisme, religion de l'histoire, et Jésus l'Homme-Dieu. Les allier l'une à l'autre, c'est rendre le premier impensable, du moins — et le D^r Couchoud le reconnaît loyalement — à ceux qui n'ont pas la foi. Il les estime nombreux sur la terre et il leur destine le fruit de ses réflexions et de ses recherches. Les articles du *Mercur de France* amendés, corrigés, amplifiés forment la deuxième partie du volume dont nous nous occupons ici. La première est vouée à l'examen critique des témoignages historiques : Plinie, Tacite, Suétone, l'Évangile de Marc, l'apôtre Paul et des ouvrages de Renan et d'Alfred Loisy. L'Évangile de Marc pour le D^r Couchoud, est un tissu de passages de l'Ancien Testament et des conceptions de saint Paul. Ce dernier est le véritable créateur du Christ et du christianisme. Par l'évocation des prophètes de l'Ancien Testament et de ses visions personnelles l'apôtre Paul fait du Christ — figure céleste — une réalité à la portée des hommes. Rien dans les lettres de saint Paul ne peut donner valeur d'histoire à la personnalité humaine de Jésus.

Il est impossible d'indiquer ici tous les arguments du D^r Couchoud contre l'historicité de Jésus. Sa thèse a été combattue par

de nombreux auteurs catholiques et protestants. Parmi les derniers, le professeur M. Goguel, de Paris, en se plaçant uniquement sur le terrain de l'histoire, a fourni la réfutation définitive des conceptions du Dr. Couchoud, dans son livre remarquable : *Jésus de Nazareth. Mythe ou histoire?* (Payot, Paris). Sommairement résumés voici les arguments de M. Goguel : le silence de Flavius Josèphe, l'historien juif, sur Jésus et le christianisme, est dû à son désir de flatter les Romains ; les adversaires du christianisme du deuxième au quatrième siècle n'auraient eu garde de négliger une arme aussi formidable que celle de la non-existence de Jésus, ils se plaçant au contraire sur le terrain des Evangiles ; les docètes n'auraient pas dépensé des trésors d'ingéniosité pour justifier leurs théories, ils sont donc comme les témoins de la tradition évangélique. Saint Paul lui-même en persécutant les chrétiens, avant sa conversion, nous donne la certitude de la mort de Jésus. L'ouvrage de M. Goguel, ainsi que celui du Dr Couchoud, ont été traduits en anglais.

La théologie, l'exégèse et l'histoire évangélique, sont en train de prendre une magnifique revanche en France, grâce aux travaux d'un Jésuite, le R.P. Marcel Jousse, sur la psychologie du langage, travaux qui ont fait l'admiration du professeur Alfred Loisy qui revient, dit-on, de beaucoup de ses négations de jadis.

A.S.

THE LIFE OF JESUS. By J. Middleton Murry. Jonathan Cape, pp. 317. Price 10/6.

This book was written, Mr. Murry says, to make Jesus wholly real to himself. "The Jesus who is presented in these pages is simply the Jesus who is real to me." He explains with entire candour what his convictions about Jesus are. "I cannot share the belief (in the divinity of Jesus) because I do not know what it means." Yet Jesus was more than a genius. "To the creative imagination was added in him the power to live and die for his vision of things to come.... To the wisdom of the perfect teacher was added the love of the perfect brother... Indeed I do not know what predicates of supreme humanity could be denied him." So unique was he that "either Jesus was God made man or he was man made God." Mr. Murry is persuaded that the latter is the truth. This truth is best expressed in the language of Jesus' experience at his baptism ; there he knew himself to be "Son of God." God had long waited for the man who would pass beyond the other voices, and listening to the inmost secret, would recognise Him as Love. Jesus discovered this secret.

But though Jesus was the only son, because the only one who knew the truth of God, all men might equally become sons of God if they would. "Jesus believed himself to be the Son of God in precisely the same sense as he believed all men to be sons of God." To know this meant a complete rebirth. To be reborn was to enter God's Kingdom. When this was realised "a new order of consciousness would begin as different from that which men now have, as human life and human consciousness is different from animal life and animal consciousness." And this inner change would change also the outer world; man's whole environment would become a new thing when man was reborn. Thus Jesus was the first-born of the sons of God.

The purpose of his ministry was to lead other men to this knowledge and rebirth. But his generation proved too blind; "he found no brother." He soon learnt that it was as a worker of miracles, not as the bearer of this gospel, that the world would follow him. The religious leaders for their part believed that the days of inspiration were passed; they therefore rejected "the voice of God speaking directly to a man" for "the voice of God graven immutably on stone." Authority, feeling itself menaced, declared that he was possessed by the Spirit of Evil. So the stage was set for the great tragedy.

Up to now Jesus did not believe himself to be Messiah. Like John, he was waiting for the Son of Man from heaven. It was out of the long waiting in vain and the uniqueness of his knowledge of sonship that the new conviction was born. Peter's confession at Caesarea "revealed Jesus to himself." He was the Son of Man. But the Son of Man was a supernatural being and a judge. Therefore Jesus must first put off his human nature. Man had refused the Kingdom. Jesus would "pluck it down from heaven for men." He would go to Jerusalem to die as on God's altar. But his reply to the High Priest shows that he believed that in the very moment of death he would be transformed and ascend to the right hand of God, to return as Messiah.

To force the issue Jesus had only to let the secret of his claim to Messiahship be betrayed. In order to control the time and manner of his death, he arranged deliberately that Judas should betray the secret to the priests when he was ready. The event took place as he foresaw. But he was not "translated" from the cross, and he died with a cry of despair. But that was not the end. "To history belongs the reality of Simon's experience of the continued existence of Jesus." It was really the experience of an objective presence, though not of a physical body.

So the writer "looks like a man on the man Jesus. He will stand our scrutiny. Keep our heads as high as we can, they shall be bowed at the last."

Mr. Murry states his case so frankly that it would be superfluous to criticise it from the point of view of the more fully Christian experience and belief. His knowledge of history, too, is not equal to his imaginative power. He seems hardly to appreciate, for example, the intense social solidarity that led the Jews practically to identify the nation and its representative, which might have suggested another interpretation of why Jesus was baptised; or the fact that outside the gospel records there is only one known Jewish writing in which Daniel's Son of Man is identified with the Messiah. The result is that his interpretations are sometimes too fanciful to be convincing. But there is no denying the quality of Mr. Murry's insight; it touches little that it does not illuminate. When all has been said, this book will stand as a sincere and beautiful tribute from a writer of genius to the Master of men.

P.I.P.

JESUS OF NAZARETH : HIS TIMES, HIS LIFE AND HIS TEACHING.

By Joseph Klausner. Translated from the original Hebrew by Canon Herbert Danby. The Macmillan Company, New York, 434 pp. \$4.50.

To say the least of it, this is an intensely interesting book. It is interesting because of its origin and its contents. Dr. Klausner is a distinguished Zionist scholar and leader, a Ph. D. of Heidelberg, and is now resident in Jerusalem. The book was not intended for Christian readers, but is an attempt to estimate the significance of the Founder of Christianity for the Jewish people, in the light of the author's researches into contemporary Jewish history and literature. The volume contains a wealth of material drawn from Rabbinical and other sources which has hitherto not been readily available and undoubtedly throws valuable light upon the Jewish intellectual and historical environment in which our Lord lived and worked. The book was composed in modern Hebrew and has been admirably translated by Canon Danby, who is much too apologetic about his own work.

The author declares that his object in writing is to show how Judaism differs and remains distinct from Christianity, and that he has made every effort to keep within the realm of pure scholarship, avoiding subjective religious and nationalist aims. "There has never yet been in Hebrew any book on Jesus the Jew which

had not either a Christian propagandist aim — to bring Jews to Christianity, or a Jewish religious aim, — to render Christianity obnoxious to Jews." Certainly the book as a whole is characterised not only by a scholarly outlook but by impartiality. It could not be described in any sense as seeking "to render Christianity obnoxious." But while Dr. Klauser no doubt never consciously departed from his objective attitude, there are occasions when he dogmatically lays down conclusions for which the evidence is lacking or palpably inadequate. Like too many Christian scholars, he is rather over-ready to eliminate from the Gospels passages which do not chime with his own point of view, even though there may be no adequate textual or other reasons for this course (e.g. pp. 332, 336, 348, 352, etc., etc.). He is apt to dismiss statements as "lacking in Mark and therefore unhistorical" (p. 294); an entirely uncritical attitude. He declares that Jesus could not have used the words "let him deny himself and take up the cross", because he lived in Galilee and the Roman practice of crucifixion was not in force there (p. 302), while earlier he has told of thousands of Jews being crucified a few years before this near Jerusalem (p. 157). Does he really maintain that Jesus could never have heard of crucifixion in Galilee? He builds up an elaborate chain of reasoning, taking for granted all kinds of things, and then declares that Judas Escariot *must* have argued in this way (p. 325). It is, of course, part of the interest of the book that it bristles with statements about which one wants to argue!

Part of the trouble, if one may venture to say so, is that Dr. Klauser's acquaintance with Christian scholarship is not as thorough as his remarkable rabinnical knowledge. In particular, he makes no reference to any British or American scholars, — except to one American, not of the first rank, who is quoted in a French translation. This may account for his misunderstanding of the position of representative Christian scholarship about many of the questions he discusses.

These criticisms relate mainly to the later part of the book. Nearly all of the first half contains a very valuable discussion of the sources of our knowledge of the life of Jesus, and the political, economic and religious conditions of the period. The treatment of the historical accuracy of the Gospels, which he rates very highly, is of considerable interest.

It is not possible in a brief review to discuss any of the numerous questions raised. In spite of all criticism, we welcome this volume warmly, not only as a very learned and valuable

work within the limits of its author's special knowledge, but also as being a fair-minded and honest attempt to study the place of Jesus in Judaism. Dr. Klauser's conclusions in many respects cannot be shared by the Christian, but the book is one which will repay close reading. It will take its place at once as probably the most valuable book on the Jewish sources and setting of the life of our Lord, replacing, for example, Wersheim's *Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah*.

H.M.

"THE GOSPEL THAT JESUS PREACHED," by A.T. Cadoux.
Published by George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., London, pp. 244 6/6d.

This is a valuable book that every student of theology should study and one that the layman can read with great profit. It is direct, clear and logical. Back of each argument one feels the influence of extensive study and sincere conviction. The number of questions raised and considered is startling, but in no way confusing. Each question is succinct and is treated with foresight as to the criticisms of the modern mind, whether from the point of view of theology, philosophy, psychology or science.

After considering the inefficiency of the traditional gospel as largely due to the decline of the belief in eternal punishment, Dr. Cadoux briefly considers the Gospel that Jesus preached and the Gospel of the Early Church, as presented in the various books of the New Testament.

It is in the last three chapters, entitled "Experience," "Validity" and "Theological" that one finds on every page thought stimulus for the problems which always concern thoughtful people. Such problems as reality, goodness, divinity, moral-consciousness, value, purpose, sin, suffering and forgiveness are considered.

In contrast to the complications into which the mind of man can wander is the simplicity of the Gospel of Jesus for to-day. His Gospel is its own authority to the mind that understands; it is the truth about God in word and in deed. Jesus taught the truth about God, and was in his powerful and sinless personality the truth he taught.

This book will help clear the confused mind of its conflicts between modern thought and traditional theology, if it is read with tolerance, and it should lead to a belief in man, God, reality, and to a more vital understanding of the Cross of Jesus.

C.A.M.

Notes on Contributors.

Dr. KARL BARTH is a former Swiss pastor who after the War went first to the University of Göttingen and is now at that of Münster. He is the leader of the most vital religious movement in modern Germany, and is described by Count Keyserling as having saved Protestantism for Northern Europe.

Professor BERTIAEFF is the author of "Le Nouveau Moyen Age" and one of the outstanding intellectuals among the Russian émigrés; he is an occasional lecturer at the Russian Orthodox Academy in Paris.

Mademoiselle SUZANNE DE DIETRICH is a member of the General Committee of the World's Student Christian Federation and has for some years been an important Secretary of the French Movement.

Dr. E. FORRESTER-PATON is a member of the Presbyterian Church and one of the founders of the "Christu-Kula-Ashram", in the North Arcot District, S. India. He is a fully-trained medical man.

Pfarrer EMIL FUCHS is a pastor in the Lutheran Church, a leader of the Religious Socialists in Germany and very well known for his sympathy with the cause of Labour.

Professor JULIO NAVARRO MONZO is a brilliant intellectual leader in South America, a former member of the General Committee of the World's Student Christian Federation, and a Secretary of the South American Federation of Young Men's Christian Associations, who has devoted himself specially to student work.

Mr. REINHOLD NIEBUHR, the author of "Does Civilisation Need Religion?" is a member of the staff of "Union Theological Seminary", U.S.A. and one of the editors of the "World To-Morrow".

Miss MAUDE PETRE is a member of an old English Catholic family, and has been in close touch with leading Catholic Modernists. She is the author of a "Life of Father Tyrrell" and many other books and articles on religious and social questions, including "The Ninth Lord Petre" recently published by the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, "in the hope that it will contribute towards the cause of Christian Re-union."

Dr. W.B. SELBIE is Principal of Mansfield College, Oxford, and a leader of the Congregational Church in Great Britain.

Professor PAUL TILlich is teaching at the Technical High School in Dresden.

Advertisements

JOANNIS CALVINI Opera selecta

EDITIT PETRUS BARTH

1. Band: Schriften vom Jahre 1533 bis 1541. Subscriptionspreis dieses Bandes geh. Mk 11. geb. Mk 13.

Im Erscheinen begriffen sind die Bände III, IV, V, welche die

INSTITUTIO

in ihrer engültigen lat. Fassung von 1559 enthalten.

Die Ausgabe ist auf 5 bis 6 Bände angelegt. Bei

Subscription erfolgt eine Ermässigung von 20 %.

Diese Calvin Ausgabe, deren erster Band vorliegt, ist mit Recht als ein Ereignis für unsere protestantische Welt bezeichnet worden. Sie ist eine Tat für die evang. Welt und vielleicht auch für die ganze Christenheit. Wenn man bedenkt, dass sich unsere Pfarrer und Studenten wohl eine vorzügliche Auswahl aus Luthers Werken leicht beschaffen können, dass es aber eine ähnliche kleinere Calvin Ausgabe bisher einfach nicht gab, so erhellt sofort die Bedeutung des Unternehmens. (Christl. Welt).

Chr. Kaiser Verlag, München.

MILITIA CHRISTI

Vom Wirken des Evangeliums in der studentischen Welt.

In Verbindung mit Franz Irmr herausgegeben von

Hanns Lilje

226 Seiten mit einem Bildnis von D. Dr. Georg Michaelis

Br. RM 5.50, in Ganzl. geb. RM 6.50

Ein Querschnitt durch das geistige Leben der Deutschen Christlichen Studentenschaft.

In der Reihe der " Stimmen aus der Deutschen Christlichen Studentenbewegung " erschien :

Gott wartet. Zehn Reden von Professor D. Heinrich Rendtorff, 80. S. Kasch, RM 2.

Alttestamentliche Frömmigkeit und Volkswiederaufbau. Von Professor D. Willy Staerk. 20 S. in Steifumschl. RM 1.

Satanismus und Dämonie in Geschichte und Gegenwart. Von Hermannus Obendiek. 72 S. Kasch. RM 2.

Harmonien und Dissonanzen. Von deutscher Musik und ihren geistigen Hintergründen. Von Franz Spemann. 72 S. Kasch. RM 1.80.

Der verborgene Gott bei Luther. Von Fritz Blanke. 26 S. Steifumschl. RM 0.80.

Von der Niedrigkeit Christi. Von Adolf Köberle. 36 S. Steifumschl. RM 1.

Im Furche-Verlag, Berlin N W 7.

Advertisements

THE QUEST OF RELIGION

By Canon C. E. RAVEN, author of *The Creator Spirit*, etc.
4s. net; paper 2s. 6d. net.

A fresh and popular study of the perennial question of the significance of Jesus Christ for our thought about, and attitude towards, God and man. Written from the new outlook which the scientific movement has produced, it is a book which will illuminate Christian doctrines for those whose training has been primarily scientific and who find many of the categories and phrases of theological speech empty and unintelligible.

THE MAN OF NAZARETH

A Study in Personality.

By P. I. PAINTER, B. A. 5s. net; paper 3s. 6d. net.

A fresh study, characterised by sympathetic and imaginative insight, of the personality and life of our Lord. A specially interesting section deals with the reasons for His death in the light of the contemporary historical setting.

SEX RELATIONS WITHOUT MARRIAGE

A Defence of the Christian Standard.

By A. HERBERT GRAY, M.A., D.D., Author of *Men, Women and God*, *The Christian Adventure*, etc. 6d. net; post free 8d.

WHY MR BERTRAND RUSSELL IS NOT A CHRISTIAN

An Essay in Controversy.

By H.G. WOOD, M.A.

Lecturer on the New Testament at the Selly Oak Colleges, Birmingham; late Fellow of Jesus College, Cambridge. 4s. net; paper 2s. 6d.
Some very interesting and appreciative reviews are appearing of this book.

The British Student Christian Movement;
32 Russell Square, London, W.C. II.

